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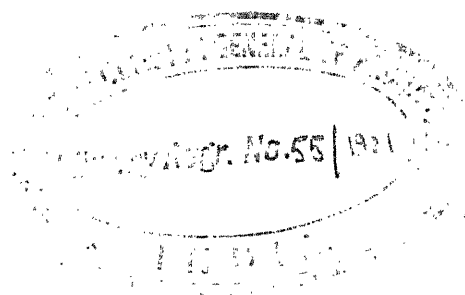
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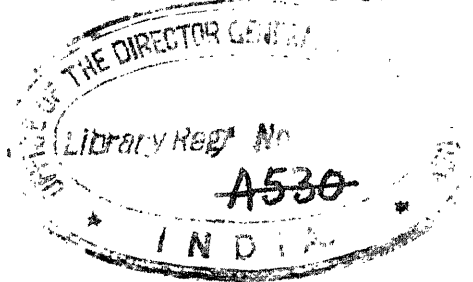
THE ANNUAL
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. XXIII.

31912

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A. B. S. A.

SESSION 1918-1919.



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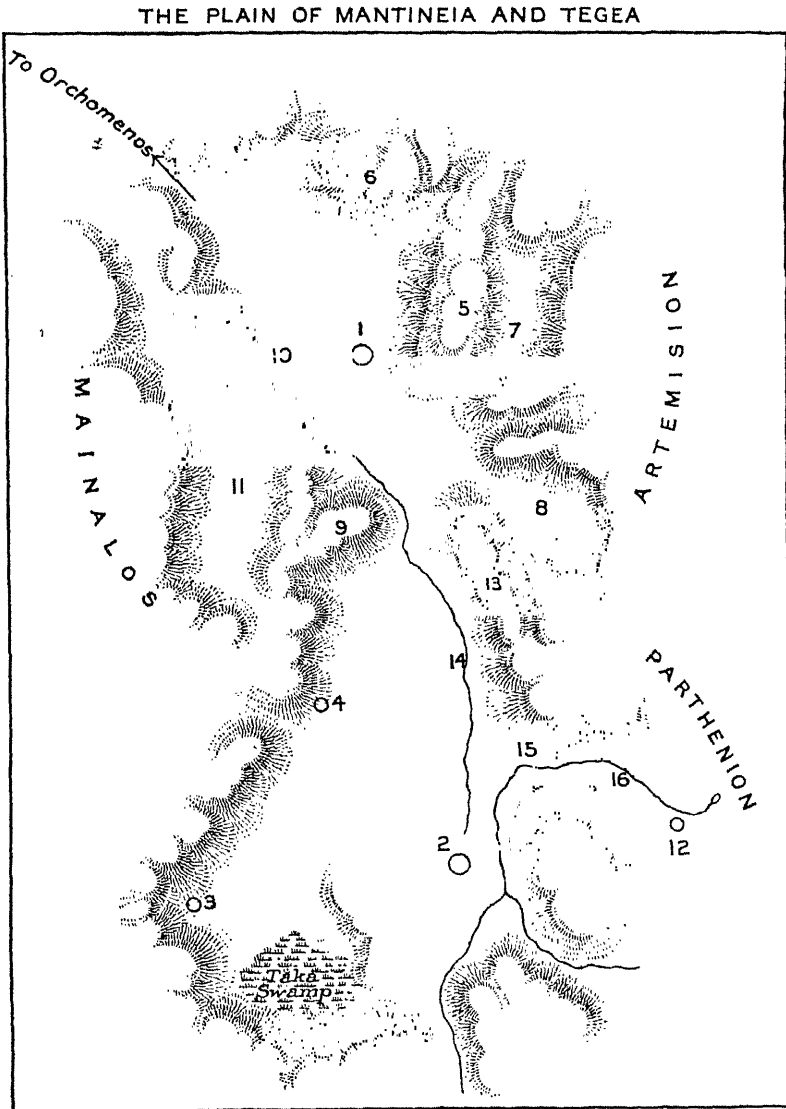
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THE CAMPAIGN AND BATTLE OF MANTINEIA, B.C. 418.

1. Mantinea. 2. Tegea. 3. Pallantion. 4. Tripolitza. 5. Alesion. 6. Armenia Mt. 7. Argon Pedion. 8. Plain of Luká. 9. Mýtika. 10. Defile of Kapsia. 11. Alkimedon Plain. 12. Vértsova. 13. Kapnistra. 14. R. Zanovista. 15. Stenó. 16. R. Sarandapotaniós.

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WAR SERVICE OF STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL

1914—1919

THE subjoined list has been drawn up as carefully as possible with the co-operation of former Students.

The Editorial Committee have reason to know that in some cases where no particulars are available of Military Service, or of work done in connection with the War, devoted efforts have been made in the direction of carrying on the work of others who, fortunately for themselves, were not considered 'indispensable' to the work of a Government department.

The names of those killed in action are printed in heavy type and marked †. * signifies deceased since the list was compiled.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Ernest A. Gardner.
Litt.D. (T/Lieut.-
Commander,
R.N.V.R.) | <i>Admitted</i> 1886-87. Oct. 1914-15, Metropolitan Special Constabulary (Sergt.). Oct. 1915-17, Naval Intelligence Officer at Salonika (Officer i/c H.Q. Museum, Dec. 1915-March, 1917). Oct. 1917-Jan. 1919, Intelligence Dept. of Admiralty. July, August, 1919, Military Intelligence Dept. Greek Order of the Redeemer (Gold Cross). |
| David G. Hogarth.
M.A., D.Litt.
C.M.G. (T/Com-
mander, R.N.V.R.) | <i>Admitted</i> 1886-87. July, 1915, attached Military Intelligence, Cairo. March, 1916, Director of Arab Bureau, Residency, Cairo. Feb. 1918, Director of Arab Section, G.S., G.H.Q., E.E.F. March, 1919, Peace Conference, Paris. |
| R. W. Schultz Weir
(R. W. Schultz). | <i>Admitted</i> 1887-88. Rural District Council Work, National Register, Coal Control, Chairman of Housing Committee. |
| Sidney H. Barnsley. | <i>Admitted</i> 1887-88. V.A.D. in Red Cross Hospital (England). |
| J. A. R. Munro. M.A. | <i>Admitted</i> 1888-89. Intelligence work for the Admiralty and the War Office (London). |
| Sir James G. Frazer.
LL.D., D.C.L. | <i>Admitted</i> 1889-90. Literary work. (Translations from the French.) |
| †William Loring.
M.A. (Captain.) | <i>Admitted</i> 1889-90. Captain in the Scottish Light Horse. Died of wounds received in the Gallipoli campaign, October 22nd, 1915. |
| W. J. Woodhouse. M.A. | <i>Admitted</i> 1889-90. Interpreter in Censor's office, Sydney, N.S.W. |
| G. C. Richards. M.A. | <i>Admitted</i> 1889-90. Visitor in local hospitals. |
| O. H. Parry. M.A. | <i>Admitted</i> 1889-90. 1918, work in Palestine and Egypt for Palestine Relief Fund. |
| A. G. Bather. M.A. | <i>Admitted</i> 1889-90. Captain of Winchester College O.T.C. |
| E. E. Sikes. M.A. | <i>Admitted</i> 1890-91. 1914-19, served as private in C.U.O.T.C. and 1st Battn. Cambridge Volunteer Regt. |
| H. Stuart Jones. M.A. | <i>Admitted</i> 1890-91. 1914, Lieut. 1st Volunteer Battn., The Welch Regt. (O.C. Detachment, Saundersfoot.) 1918 Special duty at the War Office. |

WAR SERVICE OF STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL, 1914-1919. ix

- Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong). *Admitted* 1890-91. 1914-19, Acting-Director of the British School at Rome during the absence of the Director.
- F. Brayne Baker. M.A. *Admitted* 1891-92. Agricultural work in connection with Malvern College.
- E. F. Benson. B.A. *Admitted* 1891-92. Propaganda work for the Foreign Office and Ministry of Information.
- V. W. Yorke. M.A. *Admitted* 1892-93. Engaged in the manufacture of munitions.
- J. L. Myres. M.A., O.B.E. (T/Acting-Commander, R.N.V.R.) *Admitted* 1892-93. 1916-19, Naval Intelligence Dept. 1917-19, Military Control Office, Athens. Mentioned in despatches. Commander of Royal Order of George I. of Greece.
- R. C. Bosanquet. M.A. *Admitted* 1892-93. Officer of British Red Cross Society. Jan.-March, 1916, Agent of Serbian Relief Fund on the Adriatic Coast and at Corfu. Aug. 1916-Aug. 1917, Director of Serbian Relief Fund in Macedonia.
- E. R. Bevan. M.A. *Admitted* 1893-94. 1915-19, Work in the Department of Information and in the Political Intelligence Dept. of the Foreign Office.
- A. F. Findlay. M.A. *Admitted* 1894-95. 1915-17, Chaplain to the Forces. (Nov. 1915-Oct. 1916, attached 2nd Scottish Horse Brigade. Nov. 1916-Feb. 1917, 24th Stationary Hospital, E.E.F. Feb. 1917-Nov. 1917, 1/6 Highland Lt. Inf., 52nd Div. in Egypt and Palestine.)
- J. G. Duncan. M.A. B.D. *Admitted* 1894-95. 1917, work in the Huts at Barlin (Béthune) and Etaples.
- C. R. Rowland Clark. *Admitted* 1895-96. Special Constable. Work at Board of Agriculture and at Office of Works.
- H. H. West. M.A. *Admitted* 1896-97. Work in connection with Serbian boy-refugees in England.
- Miss C. A. Hutton. *Admitted* 1896-97. 1915, National registration. 1915-19, Night canteen work at Woolwich Arsenal and Paddington Free Buffet. 1916-19, Honorary Acting Secretary to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and the School at Athens.
- J. G. C. Anderson. M.A. *Admitted* 1896-97. 1916-18, Labour Regulations Dept. (Wages Section) Ministry of Munitions. 1918-19, Chief of Section, Wages and Arbitration Dept., Ministry of Labour.
- J. W. Crowfoot. M.A. *Admitted* 1896-97. June 5th, 1919, Mentioned in *London Gazette* "in connection with military operations and the situation in the Sudan created by the War."
- J. C. Lawson. M.A., O.B.E. (T/Acting-Commander R.N.V.R.) *Admitted* 1898-99. Feb. 1916-Dec. 1917, Lieut. R.N.V.R. Jan. 1918-April, 1919, Acting-Lieut.-Commander, British Naval Mission, Athens. Mentioned in despatches. Greek Orders of the Redeemer and of Military Merit.
- F. B. Welch. M.A. (Lieutenant.) *Admitted* 1898-99. Feb. 1916-April, 1919, Intelligence Corps, British Salonika Force. April-Oct. 1919, Assistant to Military Attaché, Athens.
- J. K. Fotheringham. M.A., D.Litt. *Admitted* 1898-99. 1917, Clerk in the War Trade Intelligence Department.

x WAR SERVICE OF STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL, 1914-1919.

- J. H. Hopkinson. M.A. *Admitted* 1899-1900. July, 1918, enlisted and served as a private in the R.A.M.C. until Jan. 1919.
(Private)
- D. Theodore Fyfe. *Admitted* 1899-1900. Resident Architect, H.M. Factory, Queensferry. (Ministry of Munitions, Dept. Explosives Supply, Housing Branch).
F.R.I.B.A.
- † **K. T. Frost. M.A.**, *Admitted* 1900-01. 1914, Captain in the Cheshire Regiment.
F.R.G.S. Killed in action, September 4th, 1914.
(Captain.)
- R. D. Wells. *Admitted* 1900-01. Work at Stratford Recruiting Station for T.S.F.A. Attached to Staff of Y.M.C.A. for survey work.
M.A., F.R.I.B.A.
- J. ff. B. Penoyre. M.A., *Admitted* 1900-01. 1914-19, Honorary Manager of Comforts Fund known as "Sweaters." 1915-19, Hon. Manager of Lord Roberts' Field Glass Fund, and 1917-19, of the D.G.V.O.'s Fund for supplying Games, etc., to the Forces.
C.B.E.
- *F. W. Hasluck. M.A. *Admitted* 1901-02. 1915-16, Clerk in the Intelligence Dept. of H.B.M. Legation, Athens.
- C. Heaton Comyn. *Admitted* 901-02. May, 1916, joined Artists Rifles. Nov. 1916, commissioned R.G.A. (2nd Lieut.). March, 1917-Nov. 1918, served with 284 Siege Battery on Flanders Front.
F.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.
(Lieutenant.)
- Marcus N. Tod. M.A., *Admitted* 1901-02. July-Sept 1915, Y.M.C.A. work in France. Nov. 1915, Clerk in Ministry of Munitions Nov 1915, commissioned 2nd Lieut., Interpreters Corps (Salonika Field Force). Aug. 1916, transferred to Intelligence Corps. Promoted Captain, July, 1917. Three times mentioned in despatches. Croix de Guerre (avec palmes).
O.B.E.
(Captain.)
- Miss H. L. Lorimer. *Admitted* 1901-02. 1916, Intelligence Dept. of Admiralty. 1917, Orderly in the Scottish Women's Hospital, Salonika. 1918-19, Historical Section of the Foreign Office.
- A. P. Oppé. B.A. *Admitted* 1901-02. 1915-17, Ministry of Munitions. 1917-18, Select Committee on National Expenditure.
- C. T. Currelly. M.A. *Admitted* 1902-03. Agricultural work.
F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C.
- R. McG. Dawkins. M.A. *Admitted* 1902-03. 1915, Red Cross work at Malta. Dec. 1915-April, 1916, attached to H.B.M. Legation, Athens. Dec. 1916-April, 1919, Naval Service in the Aegean Sea. Greek Order of the Redeemer.
(T/Lieutenant
R.N.V.R.)
- A. J. B. Wace. M.A. *Admitted* 1902-03. 1915-19, attached to H.B.M. Legation, Athens.
- E. S. Forster. M.A., *Admitted* 1902-03. 1915-19, British Salonika Force and Army of the Black Sea. 1915, Commissioned T/2nd Lieut. Intelligence Corps. 1916, Staff-Lieut. 1918, T/Major. Twice mentioned in despatches. Chevalier of Order of St. Sava.
F.S.A., M.B.E.
(T/Major.)
- † **E. W. Webster. M.A.** *Admitted* 1902-03. Captain in the King's Royal Rifles. Killed in action, April 9th, 1917.
(Captain.)
- J. B. Fulton. A.R.I.B.A. *Admitted* 1902-03. Sapper 1st London Field Reserve Coy., R.E.
(Sapper.)

WAR SERVICE OF STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL, 1914-1919. xi

- E. F. Reynolds. *Admitted* 1902-03. Architect to Ministry of Munitions, Factory Branch.
- M. Cary. M.A.
(M. Caspari.)
(Private) *Admitted* 1903-04. 1915, Special Constable Metropolitan Area. 1916, enlisted in Royal Fusiliers. 1917-19, service in B.E.F. (France).
- J. L. Stokes. B.A. *Admitted* 1903-04. Harvest work.
- Miss M. K. Welsh.
(Mrs. A. M. Daniel.) *Admitted* 1903-04. Work in connection with local War Charities.
- †G. Dickins. M.A.
(Captain.) *Admitted* 1904-05. Captain in the King's Royal Rifles. Died of wounds, July 17th, 1916.
- C. C. T. Doll. M.A. *Admitted* 1904-05. Special Constable in Metropolitan Area. Hertfordshire County Constabulary.
- H. J. W. Tillyard. M.A.
D.Litt. (Edinburgh). *Admitted* 1904-05. Civil Prisoner of War at Ruhleben, Germany.
- Miss G. M. A. Richter.
Litt.D. *Admitted* 1904-05. War Information Bureau, New York (American Red Cross Assn.). Canteen work, New York (National League for Woman's Service).
- J. P. Droop. M.A. *Admitted* 1905-06. 1914, Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress. 1915-17, Lord Roberts' Field Glass Fund. 1917-19, Admiralty, Secretariat.
- Miss M. Hamilton.
M.A., D.Litt. (Mrs.
G. Dickins.) *Admitted* 1905-06. 1916-17, Military Translation Bureau, War Office. 1917-19, Reader for the Review of the Foreign Press, Military Intelligence Dept., War Office.
- R. Traquair. A.R.I.B.A. *Admitted* 1905-06. Employed on an Instructional Cadre during summers 1914-18 as instructor in Physical Training.
- Miss E. B. Abrahams.
M.A. (Mrs. Culley.) *Admitted* 1905-06. 1916-June, 1919, Examiner for Postal Censorship.
- W. J. Farrell. M.A.
(Captain.) *Admitted* 1906-07. 1915, 2nd Lieut. R.F.A. (Spec. Res.). 1916, 9th Div. Artillery, B.E.F. (France). 1918, Staff-Lieut., G.H.Q., 2nd Echelon, E.E.F. Special Service Officer, G.H.Q., M.E.F. 1919 Special Service Officer in Transcaucasia and South Anatolia.
- Walter S. George. *Admitted* 1906-07. 1915-19, served as trooper in the Punjab Light Horse, India Defence Force, while acting on Imperial Delhi Secretariat.
- T. E. Peet. M.A.
(Lieutenant.) *Admitted* 1906-07. 1915, commissioned as Lieut. in A.S.C. Nov. 1915-17, served in Macedonia. 1917, Lieut. King's (Liverpool) Regt. June to Dec. 1918, served with 18th Battn. in B.E.F. (France).
- A. M. Woodward. M.A.
(Staff-Lieutenant.) *Admitted* 1906-07. 1915, commissioned as 2nd Lieut. Interpreter, British Salonika Force. Promoted Lieut. 1917. Transferred to Intelligence Corps, May, 1917. Served till 1919. Twice mentioned in despatches.
- M. S. Thompson. M.A.,
O.B.E.
(Major.) *Admitted* 1907-08. 1914, commission in 14th D.L.I. 1915-16, served in B.E.F. (France). March, 1916, Intelligence Officer, 16th Corps, British Salonika Force. 1918-19, G.H.Q., Salonika and Constantinople. Four times mentioned in despatches.

xii WAR SERVICE OF STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL, 1914-1919.

- H. Pirie-Gordon. M.A., D.S.C.
(Lieut.-Colonel.) *Admitted 1907-08.* 1914, commissioned Lieut. R.N.V.R. Served as Naval Intelligence Officer in Aegean Sea and Gallipoli campaign. Promoted Lieut.-Commander Dec. 1915. April, May, 1916, Civil Administrator, Long Island, Smyrna. Aug. 1916-Jan. 1917, Director E.M.S.I.B. Salonika. Dec. 1917-Feb. 1919, Member of Political Mission attached to E.E.F. Jan. 1918, Promoted Lieut.-Col. May, 1919, Dep.-Commissioner, British Commission for the Baltic Provinces. Literary and editorial work for E.E.F.
- A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A., D.S.O.
(Lieut.-Colonel.) *Admitted 1907-08.* 1914, commission in 8th (S.) Rifle Brigade. 1914, promoted Captain. 1915, awarded D.S.O. 1916, promoted Major. 1918, promoted Lieut.-Colonel. Twice mentioned in despatches.
- N. Whatley. M.A.
(Brevet-Major.) *Admitted 1907-08.* 1914, Adjutant Oxford University O.T.C. 1914-19, Instructional Staff, No. 4 O.C. Battrn. Intelligence Corps (France).
- †G. L. Cheesman. M.A.
(Lieutenant.) *Admitted 1908-09.* Lieut. in the 10th Hampshire Regiment. Killed in action in the Gallipoli campaign, August 10th, 1915.
- A. W. Gomme. B.A.
(Lieutenant.) *Admitted 1908-09.* Oct. 1914, commissioned 2nd Lieut. Interpreters' Corps. Nov. 1914-Nov. 1915, 8th Div. B.E.F. (France). June, 1915, transferred to A.S.C. Nov. 1915-Oct. 1916, served with British Salonika Force. Promoted Lieut. April, 1916. Invalided, 1916. March, 1917-Jan. 1918, work for Admiralty. Jan. 1918-Feb. 1919, transferred to General List for work at Athens and Constantinople.
- L. B. Budden. M.A., A.R.I.B.A.
S. W. Grose. M.A. *Admitted 1909-10.* Voluntary part-time munition and canteen work.
- H. A. Ormerod. M.A., M.C.
(Lieutenant.) *Admitted 1909-10.* 1915, Secretariat of Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic).
- H. A. Ormerod. M.A., M.C.
(Lieutenant.) *Admitted 1909-10.* 1915, commissioned as 2nd Lieut. R.F.A. 1915-17, served with 148 Bde. R.F.A. in B.E.F. (France). 1916, promoted Lieut. June, 1917, promoted Acting Captain. Wounded and evacuated, 1917. 1917-18, Ministry of Munitions. 1918-19, attached War Office for special duty in Greece. Mentioned in despatches. Greek Order of King George I.
- H. H. Jewell. (Lieutenant.) *Admitted 1909-10.* 1916, commissioned as Lieutenant, Royal West Surrey Regt. 1917-19, attached as Technical Officer to 139th Coy. Labour Corps working on Forward Roads in France.
- W. R. Halliday. B.A., B.Litt.
(Lieutenant, R.N.V.R.) *Admitted 1910-11.* 1916, commissioned Lieutenant R.N.V.R. 1916-18, Intelligence Officer in Crete. Mentioned in despatches. Greek Order of the Redeemer.
- Miss D. Lamb. O.B.E.
(Mrs. J. Reeve Brooke.) *Admitted 1910-11.* 1915-16, Forewoman on Inspection H.E. ammunition, Woolwich Arsenal. 1916-18, Administrative Official, Recruiting Dept., H.Q. 1918, Secretary of London Committee of the Supreme Economic Council and of Official Committee for Relief in Europe.
- E. S. G. Robinson. B.A.
(Lieutenant.) *Admitted 1910-11.* March, 1915, commissioned 2nd Lieut. 3rd Northamptonshire Regt. Sept., 1915-July, 1916, attached 1st Northamptonshire Regt. Wounded. April, 1917-Feb., 1919, temporary duty at the Home Office.

WAR SERVICE STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL, 1914-1919. xiii

- L. B. Tillard. B.A.
(Captain.) *Admitted 1910-11. Service with 6th Battn. London Regt. in B.E.F. (France).*
- A. J. Toynbee. M.A. *Admitted 1911-12. April, 1915-April, 1917, Propaganda Bureau. May, 1917-May, 1918, Dept. of Information (Intelligence Bureau). May, 1918-May, 1919, Foreign Office (Political Intelligence Dept. and British Delegation, Paris).*
- Miss M. M. Hardie.
M.A. (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck.) *Admitted 1911-12. 1915, Clerk in Intelligence Office, H.B.M. Legation, Athens. 1915-16, War Office, Intelligence Branch, and H.B.M. Legation, Athens.*
- E. M. W. Tillyard.
M.A., O.B.E.
(Captain.) *Admitted 1911-12. 1915, commissioned 4th Royal Lancashire Regt. (T.F.). 1915-19, service abroad (France and Salonika). Sept. 1918, British Liaison Officer with Greek G.H.Q. Salonika. Three times mentioned in despatches. Greek Military Cross.*
- M. L. W. Laistner. B.A.
(C.Q.M. Sergeant.) *Admitted 1912-13. May, 1916-January, 1919, Details Coy., Royal Fusiliers, 29th Middlesex, Eastern Labour Centre. Feb.-Sept. 1919, Administrative Officer in Ministry of Labour (Appointments Dept.).*
- S. Casson. M.A.
(Captain.) *Admitted 1912-13. Aug. 1914, commissioned 3rd Battn. East Lancashire Regt. 1915, served in France and Belgium. Wounded, May, 1915. 1916-18, Salonika Field Force. 1917, Allied Control Commission in Thessaly. 1918-19, General Staff, G.H.Q. Salonika and Constantinople. Mentioned in despatches. Greek Order of the Redeemer.*
- C. A. Scutt. B.A.
(Lieutenant.) *Admitted 1912-13. Feb. 1916, appointed Officer Interpreter to British Salonika Force (2nd Lieut.). 1917, Intelligence Officer to a Division. 1918, promoted Lieutenant. 1918, invalided.*
- †R. M. Heath. B.A.
(Lieutenant.) *Admitted 1913-14. 1915, commissioned in the Somersetshire Light Infantry. Killed in action in France, September 16th, 1916.*
- J. Arnott Hamilton.
M.A., B.D. *Admitted 1913-14. Assistant Chaplain, Cromarty.*
- Miss E. Radford. *Admitted 1913-14. 1914-16, Secretary and joint Resident Manager of Industrial Colony for Belgian refugees near Ely. 1916-17, Manager of workrooms in Corsica for Serbian Refugees under Serbian Relief Fund. June, 1917, invalided. 1918-19, agricultural work under Food Production Dept.*
- Miss Agnes Conway. *Admitted 1913-14. 1914, Co-director of Convalescent Home for Belgian soldiers. Hon. Sec. Maidstone Hospital Supply Dépôt. 1916, Registrar of Registry of University Women. Hon. Sec. Women's Branch of National War Museum. Belgian Order of Queen Elizabeth.*
- Rev. W. A. Wigram.
D.D. *Admitted 1913-14. 1915-18, interned in Constantinople and Asia Minor.*
- †C. B. Moss-Blundell,
B.A.
(Lieutenant.) *Admitted for 1914-15. 1914, commissioned as Lieutenant Durham Light Infantry. Killed in action at Loos, September 26th, 1915.*

1914.

KINGDON TREGOSSE FROST.

Student of the School, 1901-1902.

Captain in the Cheshire Regiment.

Killed in Action, September 4th, 1914.

1915.

GEORGE LEONARD CHEESMAN.

Student of the School, 1908-1909.

Lieutenant in the 10th Hampshire Regiment.

Killed in Action, August 10th, 1915.

CYRIL BERTRAM MOSS-BLUNDELL.

Student Elect of the School, 1914-1915.

Lieutenant in the Durham Light Infantry.

Killed in Action, September 26th, 1915.

WILLIAM LORING.

Student of the School, 1889-1893.

Captain in the 2nd Scottish Horse.

Died of Wounds, October 22nd, 1915.

1916.

GUY DICKINS.

Student of the School, 1904-1909.
Captain in the King's Royal Rifles.
Died of Wounds, July 17th, 1916.

ROGER MEYRICK HEATH.

Student of the School, 1913-1914.
Lieutenant in the Somersetshire Light Infantry.
Killed in Action, September 16th, 1916.

1917.

ERWIN WENTWORTH WEBSTER.

Student of the School, 1902-1903.
Captain in the King's Royal Rifles.
Killed in Action, April 9th, 1917.

ΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

Οἷδ' Ἀΐδαν στέρξαντες ἐνόπλιον, οὐχ, ἄπερ ἄλλοι,
στάλαν, ἀλλ' ἀρετὰν ἀντ' ἀρετᾶς ἔλαχον.
Anth. Pal. vii. 252.

1920.

F. W. HASLUCK, M.A.

Sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

Honorary Student of the School.

Died February 22nd 1920.

Admitted on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship, 1901-02. Re-admitted, 1902-03, 1903-04, 1904-05, 1905-06. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School from 1906 to 1915.

A LOSS TO SCHOLARSHIP.

By the death, on Sunday, of F. W. Hasluck, after three years' retirement in Switzerland, British learning loses one of the most remarkable of its younger men.

Hasluck was well known in the Levant from his connexion with the British School at Athens, of which he was for many years assistant-director, librarian, and hon. student. During the early part of the war he took service under the Legation at Athens, where his unselfish labour among refugees through the dust of an Athenian summer increased, if it did not set up, the malady from which he died.

His earliest work, and, indeed, his only formal contribution to classical archaeology, was his book on the site and history of Cyzicus—a model of well-proportioned, unpretentious workmanship. This was followed later by a series of articles on Italian influences, mainly Genoese, in the Levant. But his tendency, in marked contrast with almost every other worker at the School of his time, was to come down ever later in history, and he found his real *métier* in the novel, difficult, and infectious subject of the action and reaction of Christianity and Islam on each other. To this he brought the good-will of every scholar, British or foreign, who had information to supply, a rare critical faculty of his own, the first-hand knowledge gained by countless journeys in Asia Minor, and above all, his extraordinary *flair* for making friends with the most secretive religious sects, in particular with the Bektashi, of whose tenets, it may be said without irony, and as a tribute to his powers of memory and comparison, he knew considerably more than they did themselves.

His definitive work will never be written now, but his articles on these and kindred subjects in the *Annual* of the school are a quarry of information, and he left further MS. in a fairly well advanced stage. Probably much could be gleaned, if not for publication, at least for guidance to subsequent workers in the same field, from the series of inimitably witty and characteristic letters with which he charmed his friends in England, and which only ceased a week ago. The old simile of the sword outwearing the scabbard—only one should read *rapier*—had never better illustration than in Hasluck's life and death.

J. P.

Reprinted from the TIMES of February 24th, 1920.

MACEDONIA.

I.—LES RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES DE L'ARMÉE FRANÇAISE EN MACÉDOINE. 1916-1919.

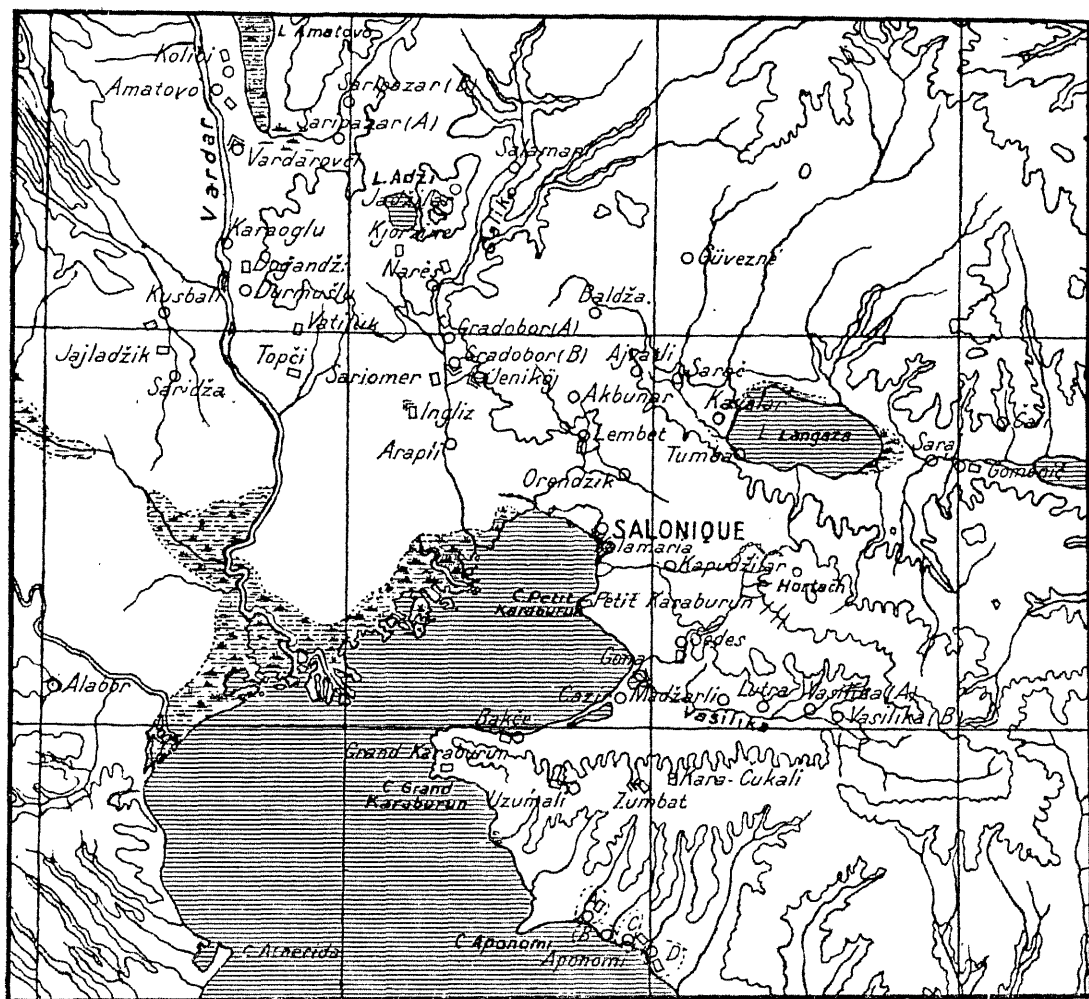


FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP SHOWING PREHISTORIC SITES ON THE N.E. AND S.E. OF THE GULF OF SALONIKA.
(*B.C.H.* xi. 1916, Pls. VIII., IX.) (Scale 1 : 600,000.)

LES travaux exécutés par le Service archéologique de l'Armée française en Macédoine ont déjà fait le sujet d'une communication adressée par M. G. Mendel à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.¹

Il a paru bon qu'un compte-rendu complété fût aussi publié par l'*Annual of the British School at Athens*, auprès des articles où sont exposés les résultats de même ordre obtenus par l'Armée britannique, dans les régions macédoniennes qu'elle occupait.

Le *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* doit donner, de son côté, une brève relation des recherches anglaises.² Ainsi paraîtra continuée, dans le domaine scientifique, une collaboration consacrée pendant la guerre par tant d'heureux résultats.³

Je ne me suis pas proposé de reprendre ici en détail la communication de M. G. Mendel⁴ ; mais j'y ajoute les résultats acquis jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, tant par le Service spécial de l'Armée que par maints archéologues français isolés dans les corps de troupes, ou dans les Etat-majors des formations combattantes.

I.—SITES PROTOHISTORIQUES DE LA MACÉDOINE.

Soixante-quatorze stations protohistoriques ont été reconnues par l'Armée française.

A part quelques-unes, situées dans la région de Monastir (Fig. 2), elles sont groupées dans les zones Nord-est et Sud-est du golfe de Salonique, golfe que ces primitifs habitats humains délimitaient sur son pourtour, avant que les ensablements du Vardar n'aient fait avancer à l'ouest l'ancien littoral.

Bien que l'enquête ainsi menée soit loin encore d'être complète, elle ajoute déjà sensiblement aux listes antérieurement dressées.⁵ Elle a permis

¹ *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1918, pp. 9 *sqq.*

² *B.C.H.* lx. 1916, pp. 292 *sqq.*, Pl. x. (S. Casson).

³ Les services topographiques anglais et français ont, en particulier, uni leurs efforts, de 1916 à 1919, pour établir, à travers la Macédoine occupée, un levé topographique général. Ce travail a permis la publication de deux séries de cartes, au 1/20,000^e, et au 1/50,000^e, qui réalisent un progrès considérable sur la carte autrichienne des Balkans, au 1/200,000^e, seule utilisée avant la guerre.

⁴ Cet article donne en majeure partie les noms de ceux des Français qui, en Macédoine, ont fait progresser, de 1916 à 1919, les recherches archéologiques.

⁵ P. Träger, *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.* 1905, pp. 91 *sqq.* ; Wace-Thompson, *Liverpool Annals*, 1909, pp. 159 *sqq.* ; A. J. B. Wace, *B.S.A.* xx. 1913-4, pp. 123 *sqq.* (le chiffre des sites alors connus ne dépassait pas 26).

d'établir les bases d'une étude de topographie de la Macédoine aux premiers temps de l'histoire.¹

Les stations protohistoriques ont soit la forme en cône tronqué (*τοῦμπα*) qu'affectent aussi, sous certains aspects, les *tumuli* funéraires,² soit l'aspect de plateformes de moindre relief et de plus vaste étendue (*tables*). Quelquefois les types sont conjugués, soit qu'il y ait, en ce cas, table sur table, soit que, suivant un cas beaucoup plus fréquent, il y ait eu superposition d'une *τοῦμπα* sur une plateforme, à la manière d'une sorte d'*omphalos* sur un soubassement colossal.

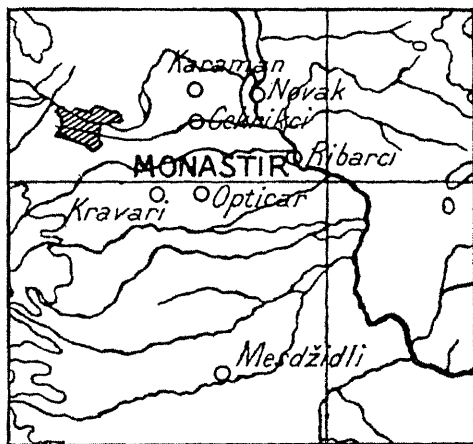


FIG. 2.—SKETCH MAP OF THE DISTRICT ROUND MONASTIR.
(B.C.H. xi. 1916. Pls. VIII., IX.) (Scale 1 : 400,000.)

Ces sites primitifs, pour la plupart principalement artificiels, se trouvent répartis comme en Thessalie,³ soit dans les vallées fluviales (Vistrice, Vardar, Galiko, Vasilika, Strouma), soit au débouché de ces vallées, dans les plaines lacustres, ou dans les fonds de golfe. A l'ouest, la *τοῦμπα* d'Alabor, sur la rive sud de la Vistrice, indique la liaison avec les sites de la Thessalie du Nord. Vers l'Est, divers établissements ont été reconnus jusqu'au golfe de Cassandra. De ce côté, les recherches anglaises dans la vallée de la Strouma, et jusque sur le site de Néochori, au fond du

¹ L. Rey, B.C.H. xi. 1916, pp. 257 sqq ; Pl. XIII., IX.

² Pour la différence à établir entre les *tumuli* funéraires, et les sites appelés en Macédoine *τοῦμπα*, cf. L. Rey, *l.c.* pp. 263 sqq.

³ Cf. Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, 1912, carte au verso de la p. xv.

golfe d'Orfano, établissent le contact avec les gisements protohistoriques déjà connus de la Thrace.¹

La répartition est la suivante :²

A. *Région Sud-est de Salonique* ; 24 emplacements (1-24) :—

Aponomi A (τ et t) ; B (τ) ; C (τ et t) ; D (τ et t).

Zone de la Vasilika ; hauteurs Sud : Karabouroun (t) ; Bakcé (t et τ) ; Ouzoumali (t et θ) ; Zoumbat (θ) ; Karakoukali (t). Vallée : Cazir (τ) ; Gona (θ) ; Madzarli (τ) ; Loutra (τ) ; Vasilika A (τ) ; B (τ).

Entre la Vasilika et Salonique : Sedes (τ et t) ; Petit Karabouroun (t) ; Kapoudzilar (τ) ; Kalamaria (θ).

B. *Est et Nord-est de Salonique (région des Lacs Langaza et Bezik)* ; 14 emplacements (25-38) :—

Ouest du Lac Langaza : Orendjik (τ) ; Lembet (τ et t) ; Akbounar (τ) ; Baldza (τ) ; Guvezne (τ) ; Ajvatli (τ) ; Saratch (τ) ; Kavalat (τ) ; Toumba (τ).

Entre Langaza et Bezik : Saraj (τ) ; Tchali (τ) ; Gomonitch (τ et t).

C. *Vallée du Galiko* ; 12 emplacements (39-50) :—

Arapli (τ) ; Ingliz (θ) ; Sariomer (t) ; Gradobor A (t et τ) et B (θ) ; Jenikeui (θ) ; Naresh (t et τ) ; Kjorzin (t) ; Jadzilar (τ) ; Salamanli (τ).

D. *Vallée du Vardar* ; 16 emplacements (51-66) :—

Saridza (τ) ; Jajladzik (t) ; Kousbali (t et τ) ; Topcin (t) ; Vatiluk (t) ; Dourmouslou (τ) ; Dogandzi (t) ; Karaoglou (τ) ; Vardarovci (θ) ; Amatovo (τ et t) ; Kolibi (τ et t) ; Saripazar A (τ) et B (τ).

E. *Vallée de la Vistrica* ; 1 emplacement (67) :—

Alabor (θ).

F. *Région de Monastir (Pélagonie)* ; 7 emplacements (68-74) :—

Mesdzidli (τ)³ ; Kravari (τ) ; Optichar (τ) ; Ribarci (τ) ; Cekrikci (τ) ; Karaman (τ) ; Novak (τ).⁴

¹ Gisement au confluent de l'Angités et du Strymon, cf. *B.C.H.* xix. 1895, p. 532 ; pour les fouilles de Seure et de Degrand, dans les *tells* de la Thrace, cf. *B.C.H.* xxx. 1906, pp. 359-432.

² Dans le tableau ci-après, les sites sont désignés par le nom du village le plus voisin. La lettre τ indique qu'il s'agit d'une *τοῦμα* ; la lettre t, d'une table ; la lettre θ , d'un type conjugué (*τοῦμα* sur table, ou table sur table) ; cf. *B.C.H.*, xl. 1916, Pls. VIII, IX.

³ Transformée par les Bulgares en poste de commandement, lors de l'organisation défensive de la ligne de Kenali, enlevée par les troupes franco-serbes, le 14 nov. 1916.

⁴ On remarquera la rareté des tables dans les plaines intérieures (région des lacs Langaza-Bezik ; plaine de Pélagonie).

Les études faites à propos de ces sites ont été particulièrement poussées pour trois d'entre eux :

(a) *Gona* (route de Salonique au grand Karabouroun, près de l'Ecole d'Agriculture).

(b) *Kapoudzilar* (Est du village, route Salonique-Hortakeui).

(c) *Sedes* (1 km. Nord-est du village de Sedes, sur les contreforts du Hortiach).

Les couches, dont la stratigraphie a été déterminée, rappellent dans l'ensemble celles des sites thessaliens ; les principales séries de céramique rencontrées¹ sont, de bas en haut :

Le géométrique incisé ou peint *pré-crétois*.

Le crétois d'importation (*Late Minoan* d'Evans).

Le géométrique peint *post-crétois*.

On a trouvé en outre des armes, des outils, des ustensiles divers, en pierre, os, ou terre-cuite ; enfin, quelques figurines d'argile.

Les habitations paraissent, sur ces sites, très médiocrement aménagées. On observe qu'elles ont été fréquemment détruites par le feu ; en quelques cas, à Gona, par exemple, pour le plus ancien établissement, l'habitat archaïque semble avoir été établi d'abord sur pilotis ; ailleurs, on remarque soit des soutènements de pierre sèche ; soit des murs de même pierre sèche, mais avec chaînage en bois ; soit des terrasses, en briques cuites au soleil.

Dans l'ensemble, il paraît assuré que la plupart des sites préhistoriques de cette partie de la Macédoine ont été, comme en Thessalie, abandonnés après l'époque de l'introduction de la céramique crétoise ; de nouveaux établissements furent alors créés sur des promontoires naturels. La situation des sites préhistoriques—établis de préférence, à l'origine du moins, au voisinage de la mer—l'abondance des coquillages qu'on y trouve, attestent là la présence de races maritimes vivant surtout des produits de la pêche, et apparentées à la civilisation de l'Egée.²

II.—SITES HELLÉNIQUES, HELLÉNISTIQUES, ET ROMAINS.

Certaines tables de Macédoine paraissent n'avoir été habitées qu'à l'époque du plein développement de la race hellénique. Tels sont les sites de Pella et d'Olynthos.³

¹ Plus d'un millier de tessons, représentant les diverses familles macédoniennes, ont été recueillis et remis à l'éphorie grecque.

² Ces observations ne s'appliquent pas jusqu'à présent aux sites de la plaine de Pélagonie.

³ A Pella, l'éphorie grecque a commencé des travaux ; pour Olynthos, cf. A. J. B. Wace, *B.S.A.* xxi. 1914-6, pp. 11-15.

L'Armée française d'Orient a commencé des recherches sur certains de ces sites. Pour les périodes hellénique, hellénistique et romaine, elle a fait aussi porter son enquête sur un certain nombre d'emplacements historiques dont les dates s'échelonnent de l'archaïsme à la période byzantine.¹

1.—*Banlieue de Salonique.*

(a) *Fouilles sur l'emplacement du Port-Annexe de Mikra et dans la Nécropole de Mikra-Karabouroun*: La nécropole a fourni des vases à figures noires sur fond rouge, des casques de bronze, des ornements d'or, des cothons, des figurines de terre-cuite, des bijoux, etc.

(b) *Fouilles du tumulus funéraire de la place de Constantinople (Salonique)*: Trouvaille d'une chambre funéraire, à élégante façade dorique, avec les restes d'un lit funéraire; alabastres, etc.

(c) *Fouilles du Camp de Zeitenlik*: Diverses tombes, d'une nécropole trouvée en cet endroit, ont fourni des vases à figures rouges, des cothons, des ornements d'or, etc.

(d) *Fouilles de la sablière de Topcin*: On y a découvert une statuette de marbre, de travail romain, représentant une Muse, des stèles funéraires, de nombreux vases hellénistiques, des pyxides, des armes, des lacrymatoires, des bijoux, des lampes, etc.

(e) *Fouilles du tumulus funéraire de Kavakli*: La fouille a livré des terres-cuites d'époque hellénistique, des bijoux, des lampes,² etc.

(f) *Fouilles du tumulus funéraire du Kil. 18 (route Salonique-Monastir)*: On y a trouvé une sépulture hellénistique, en forme de grand caveau.

(g) *Fouilles de Banja (route Salonique-Monastir)*: Au lieu dit "Fontaine d'Alexandre," quelques sondages ont permis de dégager des maisons d'époque tardive, situées vers le Nord-est de la fontaine monumentale. On a mis là au jour quelques inscriptions, des mosaïques.

2.—*Région Florina-Monastir-Koritsa.*³

En cette région, où ont été reconnus divers sites protohistoriques,⁴ certaines recherches ont été faites, dont les résultats intéressent surtout la période gréco-romaine.

¹ Les objets trouvés pendant les fouilles ont été remis à l'éphorie grecque, avec un inventaire. Un catalogue descriptif sera publié par le Service archéologique, avec les procès verbaux des découvertes.

² D'autres vases, des terres-cuites hellénistiques et des lampes ont été découverts sur les sites de Gona, Kjordzin, Sedes.

³ cf. *B.S.A.* xviii. pp. 166 *sq.*

⁴ Cf. ci-dessus (Pélagonie). Avant la guerre, le site de Pateli, sur le lac d'Ostrovo, avait seul donné lieu à une exploration archéologique, qui a permis de recueillir, au musée de Constantinople, un lot de poteries, encore insuffisamment étudiées.

(a) *Trace de la Via Egnathia d'Ostrovo à Struga.*—D'Ostrovo, le tracé de la Via Egnatia a pu être en partie relevé. Entre Banja (Benze) où se seraient trouvés les haras des rois macédoniens, et Banica, cette voie suit à peu près le trajet de la route actuelle de Vodenà à Florina. Plus à l'ouest, elle était protégée vers le Sud, par une série de forteresses d'arrêt, gardant les débouchés du massif de la Malareka. On a retrouvé là des ruines romaines, au lieu dit Dalup (4 km. Nord-ouest de Banika); à Petersko; à Orehovo (traces d'exploitation minière); à Dolno Negovani (monnaies).¹

De Banica, la route passait au Nord de Rosna,² où a été retrouvé un intéressant cippe milliaire, jadis mal déchiffré par Dimitsas,³ et qui porte une double dédicace: en grec à Constance I^{er} Chlore (292-306), et à Galère (292-311);⁴ en latin à Valentinien (364-375), et Valens (364-378).

La Via Egnatia se dirigeait ensuite vers Monastir (Héraclée des Lyncestes); le trajet Monastir-Resna (35 km.), Resna-Struga (56 km.) a été en partie reconnu. Des vestiges d'époque romaine sont conservés entre Resna et Struga, après le col de Bukovit, au moment du passage de la montagne de Petrina, d'où la route redescend vers le lac d'Ochrida.

(b) *Florina.*—Il a été établi qu'une ville, dont la fondation est au moins d'époque hellénistique, avait existé non loin de l'emplacement actuel de Florina, sur une Acropole naturelle au Sud-est de la ville. Citadelle de passage, elle gardait le débouché du ravin actuellement dit de Pisodéri sur la plaine de Monastir. La Nécropole antique était voisine de la chapelle actuelle de St. Georges; on y a exploré trois tombes rupestres à court *dromos*, qui ont livré des monnaies de Philippe II. de Macédoine, quelques petits vases, et un assez grand buste en terre-cuite, du début du III^e siècle avant J.-C., du type des Déméter funéraires.

(c) *Monastir.*—Les inscriptions de Monastir ont été en partie revues.⁵ A Bukovo, que l'on peut considérer comme le site de l'ancienne Héraclée des Lyncestes, quelques ruines existent entre le lit de la Kindirka Reka et le cimetière catholique (fragments architecturaux, inscriptions). Un site

¹ D'autres ruines romaines se voient à Neveska, où ont été trouvées des monnaies latines.

² C'est là qu'a été tué l'archéologue français Félix de Pachtère, dans les combats livrés pour l'enlèvement des défenses de Florina.

³ *Μακεδονία*, I, p. 268, No. 243 (26).

⁴ L'inscription est à dater d'après 305 de notre ère.

⁵ Certaines ont été retrouvées le 19 nov. 1916, lors de la prise de la ville, dans un petit musée de l'Ecole grecque des garçons. Le texte Dimitsas 258 a été relu et complété.

antique devait exister dans la région Rakovo-Dragos-Obstrina, où ont été trouvés de grands pithoi de terre-cuite et des monnaies.¹

(d) *Région de Koritsa*.—La région de Koritsa, qui a été explorée, est assez pauvre en sites antiques. Biklista est au voisinage d'un établissement peuplé à l'époque romaine (vers Tren), qui a fourni des monnaies romaines impériales, des fragments architectoniques divers.² Auprès de Pogradec, au Sud du lac d'Ochrida, semble avoir existé un établissement préhistorique.³

III.—RECHERCHES BYZANTINES.

(a) *Salonique*.—A Salonique, les études de O. Tafrali⁴ sur l'enceinte byzantine ont été continuées. Un relevé a été fait de la forteresse de Yedi-Koulé, et de toute la section de remparts comprise entre cette Acropole byzantine et l'ancienne porte de Kalamaria, à la sortie Est de la Via Egnatia hors de la cité.

Un plan archéologique de toute la ville a été entrepris, avec l'emplacement des ruines, à partir de la période hellénistique. Des sondages ont été faits sur le site présumé de l'hippodrome. Les plans de la basilique d'Haghia Paraskevi (Eski-Djouma) ont été relevés. Les fouilles de l'église St. Georges ont été surtout avancées.⁵ On a reconnu, dans l'édifice, une Rotonde romaine, de l'époque impériale, située dans l'axe du grand Arc double à coupole centrale, dit de Galère,⁶ et qui pourrait avoir fait partie du même ensemble architectural. L'entrée primitive de la Rotonde était orientée du côté de l'Arc. A l'intérieur, la construction, en briques, était revêtue primitivement de plaques de marbre dans les parties verticales. Au début du V^e siècle de notre ère, l'édifice païen fut transformé en une église byzantine, par l'adjonction d'un collatéral concentrique,

¹ Des monnaies de bronze ont été recueillies aussi à Negocani, Gradesnica, Velousina, Obstrina, etc.

² Diverses monnaies ont été trouvées, dans la banlieue de Koritsa, aux villages de Gjonomas, Kloce, Souli, Visocica, Vincani (colline d'Ilje Pepos), et, dans la région de Pogradec, à Tusemiste, à Velcani-Gora.

³ A Biklista, un petit Hermès de bronze, de style archaïque, a été vu entre les mains d'un collectionneur.

⁴ *Topographie de Salonique*, 1913.

⁵ Sur ce point, comme en ce qui concerne l'église brûlée de H. Démétrios, le livre de Diehl-Le Tourneau-Saladin (*Les Monum. chrétiens de Salonique*), 1918, est déjà dépassé.

⁶ Cet arc posait sur deux groupes de piliers symétriques, ainsi que l'ont établi les sondages; cf. E. Hébrard, *B.C.H.* xliv. (1920).

l'enveloppant d'une sorte de portique clos. L'histoire des diverses transformations de l'église a pu être écrite en détail ; les belles mosaïques de la coupole ont été dégagées et reproduites.

(b) *Mont-Athos*.—Au Mont-Athos, des travaux considérables ont été exécutés par une mission,¹ qui a étudié principalement Lavra, le *Protaton* de Karyès, Chilandari, Vatopedi, Iviron, exécutant partout des fouilles et des plans, pour restituer les états successifs de ces importants monastères. Des reproductions photographiques ont été prises pour la première fois, à Lavra, des diverses peintures (1535), de miniatures du X^e siècle, d'émaux et de sculptures des X^e et XI^e siècles, enfin de 70 chrysobulles, dont l'un remonte à la date de 897 ; leur série constituera le premier recueil de fac-similés pouvant faire connaître la pratique de la chancellerie byzantine. A Chilandari a été découvert un important portrait royal inédit.

CH. PICARD.

¹ Composée de G. Millet, et J. Replat, des architectes Ferrand et Grant.

MACEDONIA.

II.—ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN THE BRITISH ZONE 1915-1919.¹

(PLATES I.-XIII.)

THE allied forces landed at Salonika early in October 1915. For the first few months, which included the great retreat from Serbia, the military situation was too critical for much attention to be given to antiquities. But towards the end of the year the army of occupation settled down on its defensive lines in the neighbourhood of the town, which ran approximately from the river Galiko, near Naresh, to the sea at Stavros (Pl. I.); and as trenches, gun emplacements, and dug-outs were constructed all along these lines, it soon became obvious that there were chances of interesting and valuable discoveries. In particular, the numerous mounds which are familiar to Macedonian archaeologists lent themselves readily to military purposes. I accordingly made a representation to Col. Cunliffe Owen, who was acting as Military Intelligence Officer, and a note was issued in General Orders about the end of December, ordering that all antiquities found should be reported to Headquarters, in order that they should, as soon as possible, be inspected, and, if necessary, taken over by me. A beginning was thus made; and although it is not to be supposed that all discoveries were reported—especially those of small and portable articles—information soon began to come in, and the officers of many regiments

¹ The area concerned is of course only the British area, *i.e.* the region between the rivers Vardar and Struma.

For the photographs illustrating this paper, the authors are indebted to the Photographic Section of the Royal Air Force and the 8th Field Survey Company.

showed great zeal and care in preserving and recording any discoveries that came under their notice. About a month later there was some uneasiness in Athens, owing to reports that there was a risk of loss or damage to Byzantine antiquities in the area occupied by the allied forces. Some icons and other objects were said to have been carried off from churches or bought from villagers ; there was moreover an apprehension of damage to the Byzantine churches of Salonika from the enemy's air-raids ; and it was urged that precautions should be taken. M. Adamantiou, Ephor of Byzantine history and antiquities, was sent from Athens to co-operate in the matter, and Sir Francis Elliot sent a letter to the British military authorities, suggesting that more attention should be given to the antiquities of Macedonia, and that use should be made of my services. The result was a more definite and formal arrangement, drawn up in consultation between the British and the French. An informal conference was held, attended by representatives of the British, French and Greek authorities, and certain general principles were agreed upon. The most important of these was that the allied occupation of Macedonia did not invalidate the Greek law of antiquities, although its methods of administration must necessarily be modified. Consequently any antiquities found must be regarded as the property of the Greek government, and the French or British military authorities, who took charge of them for the present, did so as trustees for Greece, it being impracticable for a Greek ephor to supervise them within the area of the Allies' military occupation. There arose, however, some difference in practice between the British and the French methods. The French collected the antiquities found in their region first at their Headquarters, and then in a store specially constructed for them. The collection from the British area, on the other hand, was placed in the White Tower, by agreement with Col. Messalas, Greek Commandant of Salonika. The tower, though used as an allied signal station, was still under the Greek flag and in nominal possession of the Greeks, and thus the Greek property in the antiquities was emphasized. It was our hope that the collection would be retained in Salonika, where it should form the nucleus of a local Macedonian museum, instead of being transferred to Athens or any other centre. The accommodation provided in the White Tower consisted of the third storey from the top, including the large round chamber in the middle and two or three smaller rooms opening out of it ; the Greek authorities put in electric light fittings ; the international arrangement was thus on amicable terms. Both M. Oikono-

mos and M. Adamantiou, the successive Greek ephors, visited the collection, approved of its arrangement, and agreed to the transfer to its keeping of some antiquities previously found; at the same time, military and naval help was readily available for the transport or moving of heavy objects, and also for the provision of tables and shelving. It was not practicable to keep the collection regularly open for visitors; but many officers and men of the British and Allied forces, as well as Greeks, were able to see it by arrangement with the officer in charge. I had for a considerable part of the time an office in the White Tower, and took charge of the collection during the first year; on March 16th, 1917 it was handed over to Lieut. Peet, A.S.C. After his departure for England in the autumn of 1917, it was under the charge of Major Wade and of Capt. Casson, who gives below (pp. 27 ff.) an account of Macedonian antiquities up to September 1918. A more detailed account is given in this section of the discoveries made or reported prior to March, 1917.

One of the first reports to be received came on Feb. 7th, 1916, from Gen. Hibbert, commanding a Highland brigade at Aivatli, about eight miles north of Salonika. The village occupies a commanding position just to the west of the pass leading from the plain of Salonika to that of Langaza; and above the village is a mound situated on a projecting foothill that must always have been a fine defensive position. Extensive excavations were being made in it, for military purposes, by the 5th battalion of the Black Watch, and officers and men alike took a keen interest in what was being found, though the nature of the work to be done did not admit of any exact record of depth or stratification. Traces were found of a tunnel, evidently driven by treasure-seekers, who erroneously supposed the mound to be a burial tumulus. There is, however, no doubt that it is one of the village mounds frequently met with in Macedonia. Traces of stone hearths and fires were to be seen in several places, and also hollows that had once been filled by beams, now usually reduced to white ash, though traces of the original bark could sometimes be seen adhering to the surrounding earth. Fragments of pottery were to be found both in the tunnels and in the dump thrown out from them, and examples of these were preserved in the Salonika Museum. They are mostly of hard or pebble-polished ware, or of the sub-Mycenaean painted ware, with ornaments of spirals and geometrical patterns in violet or brown on a brown to yellow polished surface. This mound therefore, like some others that have been examined, appears to belong to the time between the Mycenaean age and

the sixth century B.C.; but the evidence is too scanty for any certainty. No later Greek remains seem to have been found in the mound, though some pottery and statuettes of the Hellenistic age were found on various sites in or around the village.

The most interesting discovery at Aivatli was made accidentally by the two brothers, Lieutenants A. W. R. Don and R. M. Don, of the Black Watch, both of whom lost their lives in Macedonia. They observed a curious pocket of blackened earth in a corner of their dug-out, which was on the slope to the north of the village (Pocket A). This proved on investigation to contain fragments of characteristic pottery. The pocket was about three to six feet below the surface. Another pocket (B) a little further up the slope and not so distinctly marked, yielded some fragments of very fine white biscuit ware.

The pottery from these two pockets is so distinctive and so unlike anything else hitherto found in Macedonia that a detailed description seems desirable. In pocket A four kinds of pottery were found:—

(1) Fragments of a large bowl or bowls, about ten inches in diameter, of kylix type, probably with no foot, and with the rim slightly curving out. They have a finely polished black surface both inside and out. The lower part of the outside is red, shading into the black. On the black is a pattern of parallel white lines in zig-zag, apparently two sets, one below another separated by three white bands round the vase; there is another plain white band round the rim. (See below, p. 30.) The substance of the terracotta is apparently grey shading to red, according to the firing.

(2) Grey pottery throughout, with a projecting belt about half way down, moulded into what looks like a faint survival of a plait pattern.

(3) Fragments of a bowl with a vertically placed handle attached to the rim, of fine black polished ware; the colour is black to silver grey; on one piece of rim are traces of a row of parallel sloping lines, apparently made with the polishing instrument and not painted.

All the above are of very fine pottery, not wheel made, but pebble-polished to a lustrous surface.

(4) A portion of a coarse bowl, black outside, brown inside, with a projecting knob, flattened top and bottom, but not perforated. This is of inferior clay, full of particles of stone, &c.

The most distinctive pottery from pocket B was as follows:—

(1) Fragments of deep bowls with curved out rims, about seven inches in diameter. The clay is dark grey to buff; with a creamy white slip both

inside and out, and a finely polished surface. (Pl. IV. 1-5.) The painted ornament is in bright red rows of zig-zags, sometimes four, sometimes six or more, drawn freely with a brush; these are usually below the rim, which has a border of the same pigment. In one case an isolated patch occurs, of five lines $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long, just above the band of the side of the vase. The quality of the pottery is very fine, almost resembling porcelain in appearance; it is not made on the wheel. These fragments resemble closely the red and white ware found by Messrs Wace and

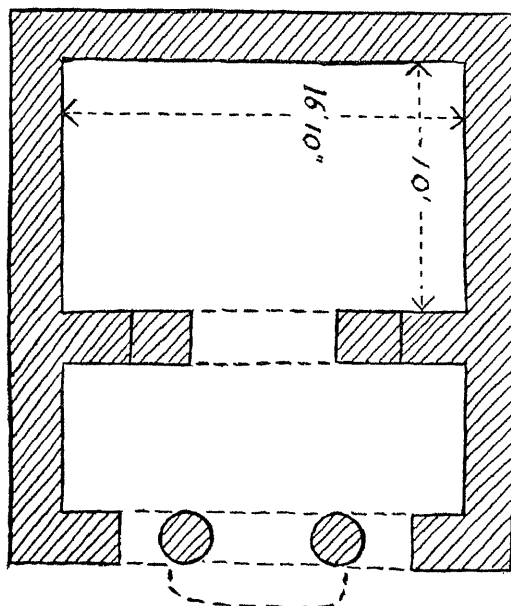


FIG. 1.—GROUND PLAN OF A BUILT TOMB NEAR LAÏNA.

Thompson in Thessalian mounds.¹ They appear to be the only examples resembling this early Thessalian pottery hitherto found in Macedonia.

(2) Fragment of a bowl of coarse pottery, buff clay, rough inside, outside polished. There is a projecting knob-handle, vertically perforated. The polished surface is reddish brown.

Ware similar to that found in pocket B is dated by Wace and Thompson to the third millennium B.C. If these fragments from Aivatli are of the same period, they appear to belong to an age anterior to the occupation of the mound above the village; but, in the absence of

¹ *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 14, Class A 38.

complete excavation of that mound, it is not safe to dogmatize about the matter.

Soon after the reports from Aivatli there came further news of discoveries near the same Derbend Pass, this time near the village of Laina to the east of it. In the trenches to the east of the pass, on the lower slope of the hills, there were found numerous graves, some vaulted, some being ordinary cist graves built of slabs of schist. They appear to have been mostly of later Greek or Roman period, and to have contained little of interest. In this neighbourhood there was found, a little later, the inscription about Salaris Sabinus, the honest army contractor, published by Mr. Tod on p. 72 ff. (Pl. XIII. 1.) The site is with probability identified by Mr. Casson as that of Lete (p. 35). In the village of Laina an interesting discovery, though not new, was first brought to notice by the British occupation. Under a barn which stood on a small elevation, evidently the remains of a tumulus, was a hole leading into a subterranean chamber, a built tomb of the type found in other Macedonian tumuli (Fig. 1.) This consisted of an oblong chamber, 16 ft. 10 ins. by 10 feet, and roofed by a barrel vault; this was entered by a doorway from a prodomos faced by two Doric columns *in antis*. The space between the columns and the antae was built up by a rough stone wall, and a similar wall was built outside the line of the columns to block the space between them. The whole was constructed of squared blocks of stone, about 3 ft. long and 1 ft. 6 in. square. The walls and columns were faced with fine stucco. The decoration consisted of a band of red colour, 6 inches wide, the top 6 ft. 2 in. above the floor, and of a painted egg and tongue moulding over the outside of the doorway. The capitals were of good form; they had flat flutings at the back and on the lower part of the front, the upper part having normal fluting in front. The tomb appeared to be of fourth century or early Hellenistic date, as were those in other Macedonian tumuli, notably that above the Derbend Pass, excavated by Macridy Bey in 1911,¹ and that mentioned by Mr. Casson on p. 40. (Pl. XII.) Nothing is now known as to the contents of the tomb at Laina; it is said to have been first discovered about 100 years ago, but was kept secret by the villagers.

About a mile to the S.E. of Laina, a grave stela of fair style was found and sent in to the collection in the White Tower by the 7th battalion

¹ *Jahrbuch d. d. Inst.* xxvi. 1911, p. 193; 'Un Tumulus Macédonien à Langaza'; B.S.A., xx, p. 125, No. A. 6; Heuzey, *Mont Olympe*, p. 172 and Pl. II.; B.S.A., xx., p. 126, Nos. A. 31, 32.

of the Wiltshire regiment (Col. Rock). (Fig. 2.) It was the tombstone of Q. Julius Alfidius Secundus,¹ and contained two reliefs. It is of semi-crystal-

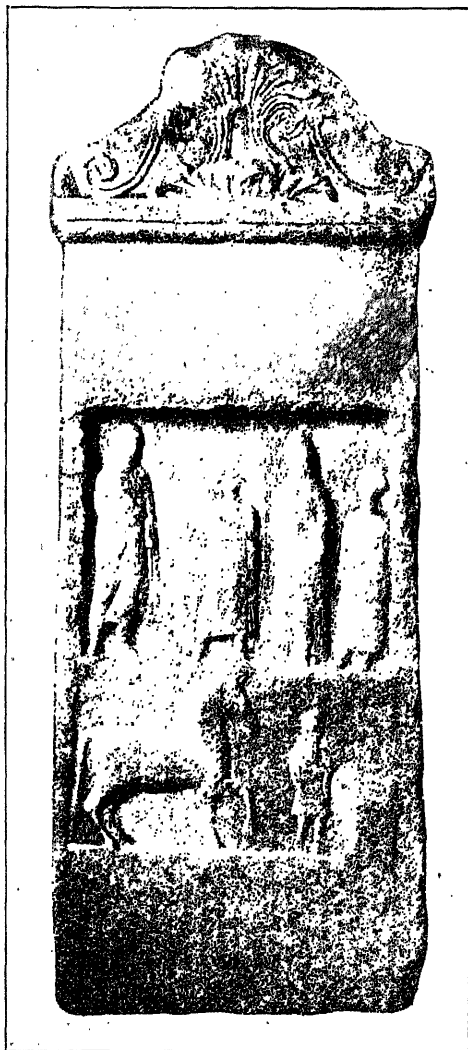


FIG. 2.—TOMBSTONE OF Q. JULIUS ALFIDIUS SECUNDUS.

line limestone, about 4 ft. high, 18 in. broad and 5 in. thick. The subject of

¹ See p. 82.

the main panel is a family group, a boy standing between a man and a woman, doubtless the deceased with his father and mother; both male figures are draped in himatia, and the woman also is fully draped. All have the right arm bent across the chest below the himation. The drapery is well rendered and the poses graceful. Behind the woman stands a girl, probably an attendant. The surface is much weathered, and no details of the faces are left. In the lower panel is a horse, facing to right, with one fore-leg raised; in front of it a boy stands in a rather stiff attitude with both arms lowered, before an altar; he is clad in a chiton only. The whole is a pleasing example of early Roman imperial work.

Further east lies the village of Aivasil, on the lake of the same name (also known as Langaza). About a mile to the S.E. of the village an

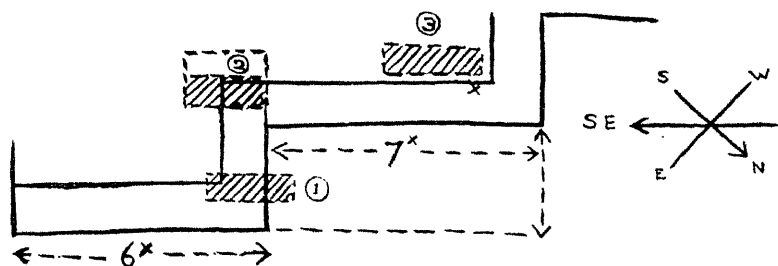


FIG. 3.—PLAN SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE BURIALS.

interesting series of burials was discovered, and was fortunately visited by Major T. G. Anderson before much damage had been done. He sent in the following report:—

" I. On February 24th, 1916, it was reported that in digging a work at a point about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles S.E. of the village of Aivasil some ancient burials had been broken into.

On investigation it proved that one trench running practically S.E. and N.W. had at a depth of about three feet disclosed three stone slabbed burials all running parallel with the trench—two of them had been entirely opened and their contents spoiled or scattered; the third had been slightly broken at one end by a pick, but was otherwise untouched. Work was immediately stopped on this trench. The positions of the three burials with reference to the trench are roughly as shown (Fig. 3.)

The work is situated on a sloping bank just below the low hills on the western bank of the main nullah running down from Hortakoi to the lake a mile E. of Aivasil, the exact position being as shown in Fig. 4.

2. As No. 3 was broken enough to admit rain and as I had some experience of excavating in Egypt I decided to excavate it, with the following results:—

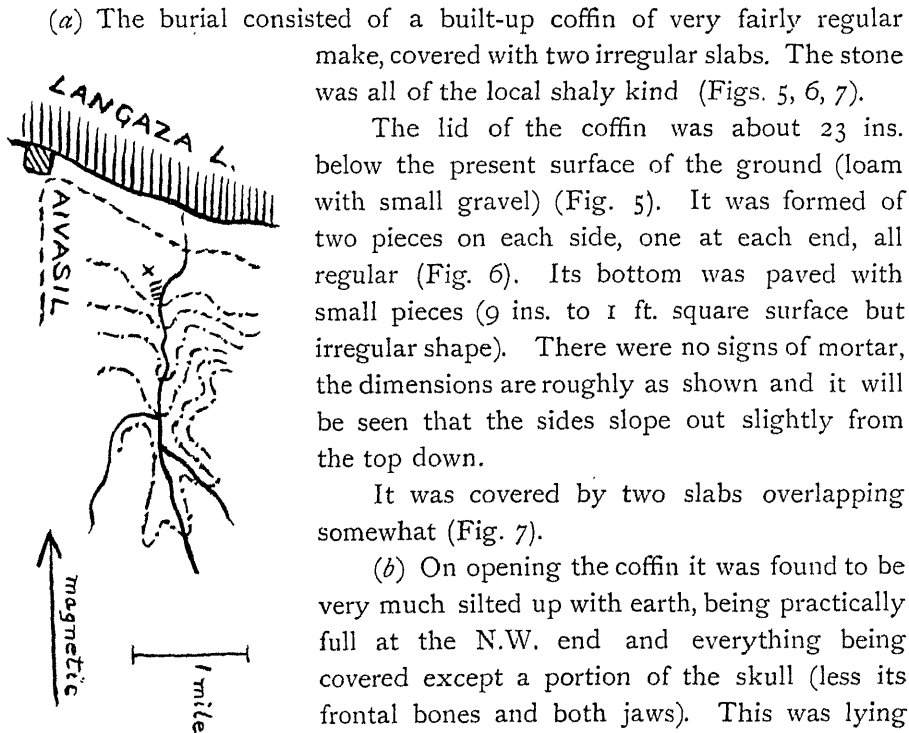
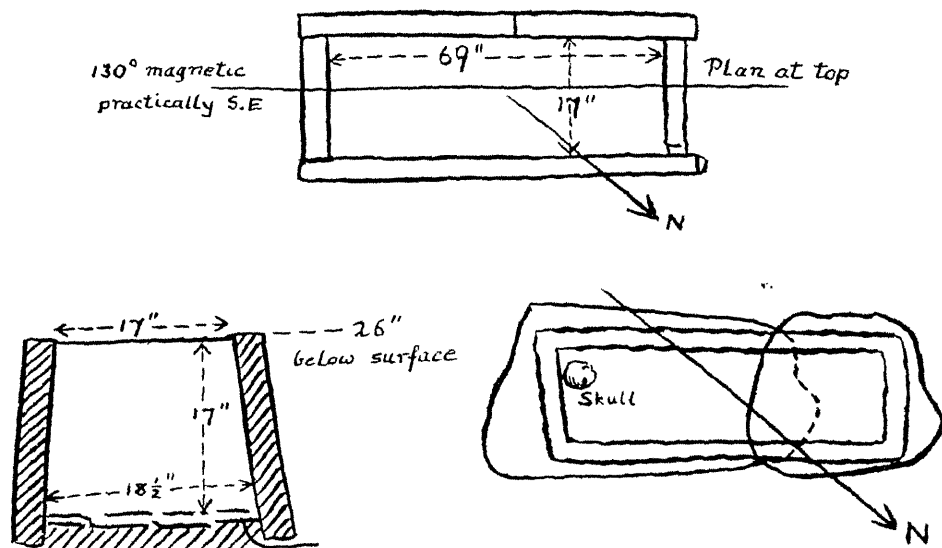


FIG. 4.—SKETCH MAP OF THE DISTRICT.

them and only two teeth. No fragments of hair, clothes, etc. were to be seen.

(d) The position of burial proved to be as follows (Fig. 8):—

Lying on back—head near end of coffin and inclined to l. shoulder. Arms straight down by the sides—feet right down to the end of the coffin and from the position of the 'os calcis' and small bones of the foot I should say pressed up hard against it. They were also very much separated, being almost in the corners of the coffin. Between the knees was a red earthenware dish or lamp as described further. The knees



FIGS. 5, 6, 7.—DIAGRAMS SHOWING CONSTRUCTION OF GRAVE NO. 3.

seemed slightly raised and the dish was tightly wedged by the right knee slightly overlapping it.

(e) The objects found were as follows in their order and position. They are mostly dealt with more fully later.

- (i) Gold pectoral or frontlet near neck on l. near surface (Fig. 9).
- (ii) Gold bead near r. shoulder (Fig. 10).
- (iii) Amber bead amulet near r. shoulder lower down (Fig. 11).
- (iv) Pieces of bronze earrings or fibulae near r. shoulder; further fragments lower down and piece in centre of chest (Fig. 12).

(v) Two bronze armlets worn high on upper arm each side (one on l. *in situ*). (Fig. 13).

(vi) Two bronze rings of same pattern one on each hand (one *in situ* on r. hand). (Fig. 14).

(vii) Terra-cotta dish or lamp between knees (Pl. V., 2).

3. The ornaments found require very little description beyond that given in the figures.

(i) The pectoral is of thin gold sheet with a tooled design rather roughly executed but ornamentally good. In the illustration I think it is upside down and that the centre feature of the ornament is a feather or palm leaf design.

(ii) The hollow gold bead is of far finer design and workmanship, the

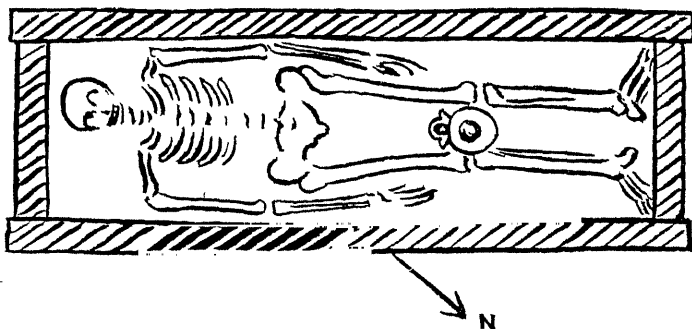
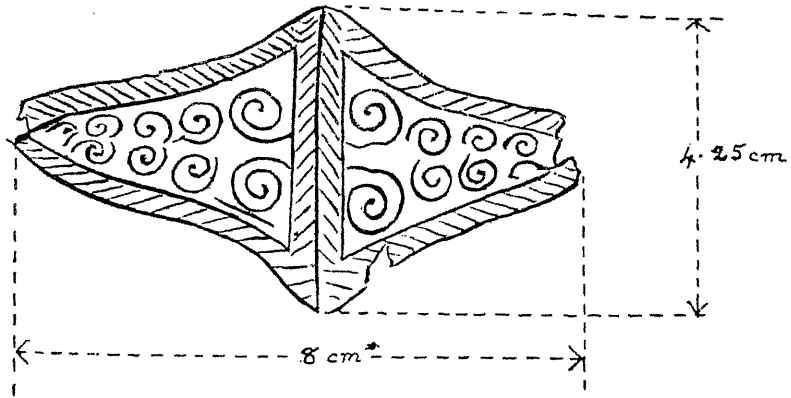


FIG. 8.—DIAGRAM SHOWING POSITION OF THE SKELETON IN GRAVE No. 3.

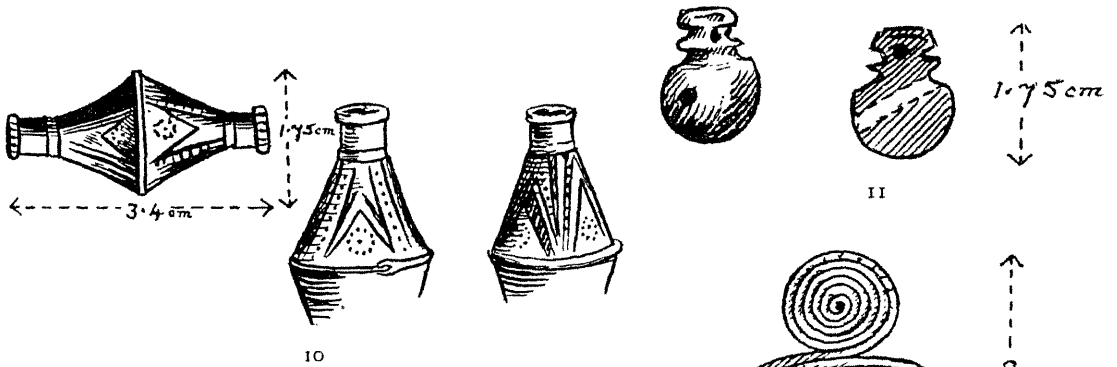
joining of the two cones is remarkable (see Fig. 10). The metal is heavier and the design more regular and very much more certain in execution. It is reminiscent of the palm capital found in Egyptian ornament.

(iii) The amber amulet is of great interest. It is very much like the 'Guelb' amulet found in Egypt. I have found one there in the same material. The chief difference here is the size of the fringe round the neck and the diagonal hole.

(iv) Bronze fibula with a very good curve ending with loops made on opposite sides. Evidently the rather 'lotus' like piece on the l. was not repeated on the r. as the wire bends up too much. Other fragments of bent wire and plates were most likely fibulae.

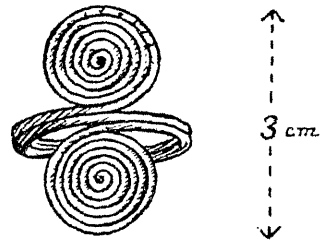


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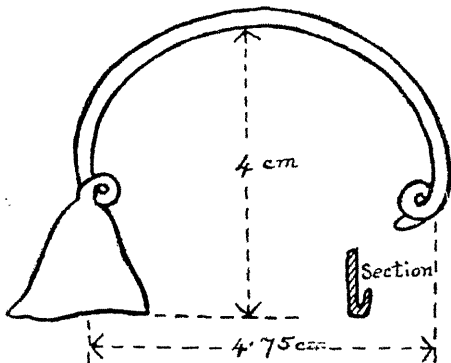


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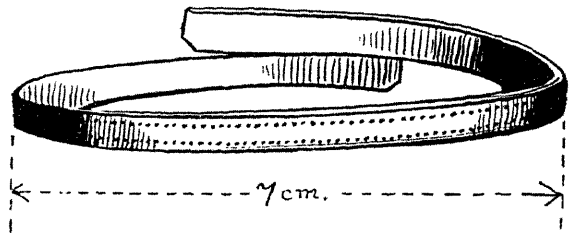
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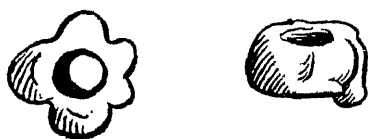
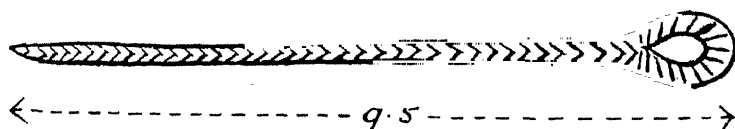
FIGS. 9-14.—ORNAMENTS FROM GRAVE No. 3. (SCALE 1:1.)

(v) The bronze armlets are ornamented with a double row of dots. One is broken, one perfect and still slightly springy.

(vi) The same condition applies to the bronze rings, one of which is figured.

(vii) The red terra-cotta dish or lamp (Kothon) is in perfect condition but for a small hole in centre of bottom decayed there or perhaps contemporaneous. No signs of remains in this dish which was completely filled with earth. The pattern is in some places destroyed and covered in others with a sandy deposit, but there is sufficient to show the rather crude design of radial and diagonal lines between circles. The handle pointed to the head of the coffin.

4. Two ornaments which I illustrate were found by Capt. Hodgman,



FIGS. 15, 16.—GOLD PIN AND GLASS BEAD. (Scale 1 : 1.)

6th Leinster Regt. and were from the coffins 1 or 2 which were broken into. One a long thin gold tooled hair or ear ornament with the feather-like design on it (Fig. 15).

The other is of particular interest. It is an ordinary (blue) glass bead of the typical Egyptian type so often found from the XVIIIth Dynasty onward (Fig. 16). It is oxidised to an almost white iridescent slate, and shales off if touched.

5. The skeleton I have preserved as much as possible. I fancy it belonged to a rather elderly woman."

On receiving the report of these discoveries from Major Anderson, I accompanied him to Aivasil, and was able to spend the greater part of a day there in further excavation. One or two more trenches were dug

without discovering more graves, but it was found that another grave existed adjoining that described by him as No. 2 (see plan Fig. 3). The two together, in fact, formed a sort of double grave, only separated by a row of slabs, and actually covered, at the S.E. end, by a large slab which stretched right across both graves. The slab which separated the N.W. end of the new grave from that in the trench had been broken away when the trench was dug, and consequently its contents at that end had been somewhat disturbed; but the rest of the grave was intact, and I was able to clear it systematically, with the help of some officers of the 6th battalion Leinster Regiment. It proved to contain the body of a man, with his head towards the S.W. end, and that of a small child at the other end, with its head to the N.E. Two small flat bands of gold, apparently ornaments belonging to the child, were found about the middle; there were also found a spear head, two butts of spears rusted together, and a knife, all of iron. If the gold hair pin (Fig. 15), mentioned by Major Anderson, was found, as seems probable, in Grave 2, this must have been the grave of a woman; and so we seem to have here a common family interment. No pottery was found in the new grave except some chance fragments of ordinary local ware.

It is not easy to fix with any precision the date of these graves at Aivasil. The Kothon (Pl. V., 2.) resembles those found by the late Dr. Burrows at Ritsona in Boeotia,¹ and assigned by him for the most part to the sixth century B.C. No exact criteria for dating occur in the other articles found. The bronze and gold ornaments suggest comparison with the Geometric Age; but it is not safe to apply evidence from Greece to Macedonia. Analogies may also be found, especially in the bronze rings, to the Iron Age cemetery at Chauchitza; and this, as Mr. Casson points out (p. 33) is clearly of the Hallstatt type, and shows affinities with Central Europe rather than with the Aegæan region. The iron weapons show that at Aivasil also we have interments of the Iron Age. But there seems no conclusive evidence for placing them earlier than the sixth century, as indicated by the Kothon. The Egyptian comparisons mentioned by Major Anderson are interesting; but it appears that they would apply to any period subsequent to the XVIIIth Dynasty.² What seems clear is that Macedonia still remained within the circle of northern influence

¹ *J.H.S.* xxxi. 1911, p. 75.

² I am indebted to Miss M. A. Murray, of University College, for confirming this opinion.

in the sixth century; it does not indeed seem to have been fully hellenized until after the time of Alexander. The Kothon is probably a chance importation from Greece.

A tombstone found by the 6th Leinsters in their trenches about 500 yards S.E. of the tower in the village of Aivasil was of much later date. It formed the front of what had once been a square cippus of the usual Macedonian type; this had been broken away from the rest, and used again for some later tomb. The sculpture consists of busts in relief of Areskousa and her husband¹ (Pl. XIII., 2). They are very fair examples of realistic portraiture probably of the Flavian age. The material is a semi-crystalline limestone, the height about 4 ft. 2 in. Over the upper moulding is a small four-petalled rosette. On the top are traces of a round socket. The relief was sent in to the Salonika collection by the finders, after I had gone out to investigate the place where it was found. This was evidently a cemetery of late period; no contents of tombs of any importance appear to have been discovered.

Farther to the east, between the Lakes Langaza and Beshik, and south of Beshik, there are several mounds and other sites which have been investigated by Captain Cockerell, A.P.M. and Captain McIver. I had the advantage of their company while riding round their district; and Captain Cockerell drew up a valuable report on them, and also sent in to Salonika the most important antiquities that had been found. At Kari Geul, near Zangliveri, is a Turkish cemetery in which several of the stones appear to have been taken from some Greek tombs in the neighbourhood. The finest of these, which had at some time been removed from Kari Geul to Zangliveri, and was sent thence to Salonika, was a draped female statue of a type often set up over tombs, the finest example being the Trentham Lady in the British Museum. The figure from Kari Geul is in white fine-grained marble, resembling Pentelic. What is left of it is 3 ft. 4 in. high (Pl. X., 3). The head was made in a separate piece and inserted; also the feet. The right arm, which is placed across the front of the chest, is broken off at the shoulder; the left hand is broken off at the wrist. The figure was supported mainly on the left leg, the right foot being slightly drawn back, giving a graceful pose. It is richly draped in a himation passing under the right arm and thrown over the left shoulder, enveloping the left arm to the wrist. The modelling of the figure, and the sweeping folds of the

¹ For this inscription, see p. 83.

drapery from left shoulder to right foot, are admirably rendered. The statue is of good and sensitive Greek work, probably an importation from Athens, of the later fourth or third century B.C. The style resembles that of the Tanagra statuettes.

The lower part of another similar figure was found in the cemetery of Kari-Geul and sent in to Salonika. It consisted of the portion from the knees to the feet, length 24 in. with pedestal. It is very inferior to the other in workmanship, and is probably of late Greek or Roman work. The drapery is mostly worked in deeply drilled parallel folds. The material is coarse-grained semi-crystalline limestone, and work and material are probably local.¹

The most interesting mound in this neighbourhood is that on the site marked in the map (Pl. I.) as Turks' Battery, and called by Captain Cockerell, who investigated it and sent his discoveries to the Salonika collection, Verenos, from the name of the nearest village. The mound is about one mile N.E. of Langavuk. The remains mostly came from an excavation made in the lowest stratum of the prehistoric mound. The pottery was of early type, including that ornamented with large spirals, as in Pls. II., 1, 3, 5, V. 3. Other interesting finds were a piece of pottery apparently from a large rough jar, with the imprint of a dog's foot made on it when the clay was still wet—an early record of the domestic dog; a piece of clay walling, baked hard by a fire, and preserving the impress of the rush basis on which the 'wattle and daub' hut was constructed (Pl. III., 7); and a store of grain, found in pots that had been broken by pressure, but carefully collected by Captain Cockerell. These consisted of grains of wheat, millet, and sesame. They were charred or blackened by age, but the form was well preserved. The wheat, I was assured by a Canadian expert, would now be considered of good quality. An experiment was tried of planting some of these grains, but, as might have been expected, without any result. All these, according to Captain Cockerell's report, were found in the lowest prehistoric stratum.

Reports had come in from the Cheshire Regiment at the site marked Vromiskos on the map, on the low ground at the east end of lake Beshik, between it and the Rendina gorge, and to the north of the Rendina river. Here they had found graves built of the usual slabs of schist; the objects sent in were rings and other objects of Byzantine period. I visited this

¹ Now in the British Museum.

site while work was still going on, and the discoveries all pointed to a similar date ; there were many fragments of glazed pottery, of about the eleventh century, according to Captain McIver's opinion based on a comparison with similar ware from Cairo. Similar pottery was to be found in the castle or monastery, with a fine little Byzantine Chapel, above the gorge on the south side. A curious discovery at Vromiskos was a large irregular stone covered with green-white glaze, which seems to be connected with the glazing industry.

The numerous mounds scattered over the surface of Macedonia are dealt with more fully elsewhere.¹ Fragments of pottery and other small antiquities from some thirty-five of them have been collected and sent in to the Salonika collection by various officers ; but none were the products of systematic excavation, and, from the conditions of discovery, it would not be safe to draw any detailed conclusions as to the character of the mounds. All fragments have been marked and kept together ; but it does not seem worth while to enumerate here the types of pottery found in the various mounds, since most were picked up on the surface or in accidental holes. A few words may be added about the great mound² which stands on the slope above Kalamaria, the east end of Salonika, and which is so conspicuous an object from the sea.³ (Pl. XI., 2). Some previous explorers had run a tunnel right under this mound, evidently in the expectation of finding a tomb inside it. This tunnel, which ran through the lowest strata, offered an opportunity for some small tentative excavations. I made one such attempt in company with Captain Loring, R.N. and Major Watson ; we found a quern and a good many fragments of characteristic early pottery, and one with the large incised spiral decoration (cf. Pls. II., 1, 3, 5, and V., 3). Mycenaean pottery is fairly common in the upper strata of this mound. Further excavation would probably be worth while. Stone hearths and a distinct burnt stratum are clearly visible in the tunnel. I had hoped to investigate further ; but a Greek powder magazine was established in the tunnel, and further search became impracticable.

Two other mounds call for special mention.⁴ These are the two placed almost symmetrically on each side of the Vasiliko River, a little way from the shore of Mikro Bay. The southernmost of these was

¹ See pp. 50 f. ² Wace, *B.S.A.*, xx., p. 127. Mound B 1.

³ This is No. B 1 of *B.S.A.*, xx., p. 127.

⁴ These are Nos. B 2 and B 20 of *B.S.A.*, xx., pp. 127, 128.

excavated by Captain Usborne, R.N., and a considerable amount of pottery from it was sent by him to the Salonika collection. The more northerly, close to the Agricultural School, was systematically excavated by the French. I had an opportunity of visiting it during excavation with Dr. Dreyfus; the work was carried out by M. Thureau Dangin and M. Rey, archaeologists attached to the French service.¹ They kept a careful record of the stratification and the types of pottery found, and the results of their work confirmed the views as to the age and character of Macedonian pottery which had been gathered from more casual observation. In the lowest stratum they found remains of wooden piles which seem to suggest that these mounds were originally lake dwellings; the ground around them is still flat and marshy.

E. A. GARDNER.

The care of the museum was handed over to Lieut. Peet, A.S.C., in March, 1917; he left for England in the autumn of the same year.

In January, 1918, the Commander-in-Chief decided to establish a more convenient museum which should be open to members of the Force, and every facility was given by him, not only for the collection and care of antiquities already found by members of the Force, but also for further investigation of known sites and for the stimulation of interest in general in the history and antiquities of Macedonia.

A museum building was, therefore, erected in the grounds of G.H.Q. (the Papapheion Orphanage) and an Archaeological Committee formed under the patronage of the Commander-in-Chief.

An officer was in addition appointed in each Army Corps to supervise the antiquities in each Corps Area. A further General Routine Order was issued repeating that of December, 1915, and giving fuller and more detailed instructions.

The immediate result of this activity was the transference to the new Museum of the objects already in the White Tower and the handing over of numerous fresh objects, including a collection of prehistoric pottery made at various times by Major A. G. Wade, and a collection of various objects found by the Y.M.C.A. at Chauchitza during the winter and spring of 1917-18.

¹ See p. 6.

The Museum was formally opened in May, 1918, by the Commander-in-Chief, who throughout afforded the Committee every facility for their work and without whose help and interest research in Macedonian archaeology would not have received the stimulus it deserves.

The following is an account of the antiquities in the Museum which were found in the area occupied by the British Salonika Force up to September, 15th, 1918. Since this date the Allied offensive, which ended in the defeat and capitulation of Bulgaria, enabled the British Salonika Force to enlarge its area into districts which are largely a *terra incognita* to archaeology. Discoveries subsequent to this date are not dealt with here.

I.—OBJECTS FOUND AND NATURE OF DISCOVERY.

Since the majority of the discoveries were accidental it is inevitable that there is a great variety in the objects found. The digging of trenches and foundations for buildings has led to the discovery of graves, town and village sites, but for the most part objects found in such sites are inscriptions, pottery, sculpture and various ornaments in stone and metal. In some cases accidental discoveries led to further excavation, as in the case of Aivasil or Chauchitza burial grounds (see p. 17, 32), but for the most part military conditions rendered it impossible to continue on scientific lines excavations on known sites. It is to be hoped that some of these sites will be systematically excavated at some later date.

2.—PRINCIPAL SITES AND OBJECTS FOUND ON THEM.

The principal sites in the area of occupation are (a) Prehistoric, (b) Greek and Roman.

(a) *Prehistoric.*

Under this heading objects of the Bronze and Early Iron age are included.

I. *Mounds.*—The valleys of the Vardar and Galiko rivers and the long valley in which lakes Beshik and Langaza lie, and along which the Via Egnatia passed from the Vardar to the Struma mouth, are covered with a very large number of prehistoric tumuli and village sites.¹ Similar

¹ See A. J. B. Wace, *B.S.A.* xx, p. 123-132, 'Mounds of Macedonia.'

tumuli and village sites are found along the shores of the bay of Salonika and in the Struma valley, though in the latter they are rare. An organized excavation of any one of these mounds has at present not been carried out by the British authorities but a very close examination of the majority of the mounds has been made and in several cases small superficial excavations have been carried out.¹ The various pottery, stone implements and other objects so found have been collected in the Museum and classified as far as present facilities permit. A brief description of some of these mounds is given by the Rev. W. Cooksey and Mr. Woodward (pp. 51 ff.). Any detailed discussion is, therefore, not within the scope of this paper which deals only with the objects found in them.

Pottery.—The pottery found falls into two main groups, namely: (a) incised, and (β) pebble-polished, wares of a primitive type, and (γ) painted wares of a more advanced type.

(a) The incised ware can be divided into three types:—

(i). Hand made vessels with incised patterns of the usual neolithic type, frequently filled with white chalk or gypsum. The technique is poor and the designs limited and unoriginal. Sufficient fragments are not available to allow of any classification of shapes. This ware is not common. (See Pl. II., 2, 4.)

(ii) Well-made vessels, with large, well-executed spiral designs. This pottery is almost identical with incised ware from Bosnia and Hungary, but it is not common in Macedonia. (See Pls. II., 1, 3, 5 and V., 3. One remarkable fragment shows a spiral design which appears to be a transitional form between the early simple incised designs and the elaborate spirals of the Bosnian type of ware. (See Pl. II., 9.) Nothing corresponding to the early Thessalian incised wares² has yet been found in Macedonia.

(iii) Pottery of Iron Age types, with rough incised designs. This has been found at Chauchitza and on various mounds in the Vardar valley. The incisions are usually round the base of the necks of vases.

(β) Pebble-polished ware fired to a brown or yellow colour and usually of local clay is found on nearly all mounds in large quantities. The shapes of vessels are usually low flat bowls, with or without handles, and

¹ I carried out superficial excavations on the mound at Akbussa, employing Bulgar prisoners.—S.C.

² A 2. ware. See Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 14 and p. 30, Fig. 9.

beakers with single handles like large ladles. It seems probable that wares of this nature persisted throughout several periods, and at present they cannot be classified until a complete stratification is obtained in several mounds. In many cases the handle is broadened where it joins the bowl and a triangular or circular incision is made in it. This type persists in various forms. (See Pl. III., 1, 3.) The handles of the beakers are in many cases pierced for suspension. (See Pl. III., 2, 5.) In general this pottery seems to correspond to the Thessalian ware known as Γ 3. β ware.¹

The collection of eighty-nine complete vessels of the Early Iron Age found at Pateli, near Lake Ostrovo, now in the Imperial Ottoman museum at Constantinople,² contains much that is interesting from the point of view of comparison, but it is curious that there are few exact parallels with the unpainted or painted pottery described in this paper. Out of fourteen different shapes in the Pateli group, only two are identical with those found between the Vardar and the Struma, namely, the single-handled cup (see Pl. V., 1.), of which the Pateli group has fourteen examples, and a bowl with a short pierced handle of which Pateli has only two examples.³

(γ) The painted ware falls into four main classes:—(i) Early pre-Mycenaean painted fabrics. (ii) Imported Mycenaean ware. (iii) Macedonian derivatives, local Mycenaean wares, and sub-Mycenaean wares. (iv) Iron Age wares.

(i) Hitherto only one kind of pre-Mycenaean painted ware has been found, namely, at Aivatli, near the twelfth kilometre stone from Salonika, on the Salonika-Serres road. This kind was represented by several good fragments of very fine ware of firm yellow clay, not of local origin, with a clean white slip on which were wavy patterns in red (Pl. IV., 1-5), together with several fragments of highly-polished, burnished black ware, with geometrical designs in a white slip. (See above, p. 13.) The red-on-white ware corresponds with the Thessalian A 3. β or A 3. δ red-on-white wares.⁴ The black ware corresponds in shape with the A 1 Thessalian wares.⁵

(ii) Imported Mycenaean ware is fairly common in the coastal region,⁶

¹ Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 186, Fig. 134.

² Referred to by Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.* pp. 216, 255, 259.

³ Numbered 3560 and 3553 in the Constantinople Museum.

⁴ Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 14, p. 94, Fig. 96, and p. 176, Fig. 117.

⁵ Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 87, Fig. 40 *e, f, g*.

⁶ Wace, *B.S.A.*, xx., p. 131.

particularly on the large Kalamaria mound¹ (Pl. XI., 2). It is of the usual Mycenaean type, and fragments found appear to be of the latest types. (See Pl. IV., 6-11.) How far inland imported Mycenaean ware is found is at present uncertain. So far none has been found either at Chauchitza or in the Struma valley, but until mounds further up the Vardar and Struma valleys have been examined it would be unsafe to conclude that its distribution is confined to the Salonika littoral.

(iii) Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean wares in the same way show little variety (Pl. IV., 12-18). The principal Mycenaean designs only, seem to have been copied, and concentric circles appear to be the most popular. The clay for the most part is coarse and badly baked, and is invariably local. Firing is unequal, and the colour of the paint varies from dark purple to brick red, though for the most part it is dark crimson. This pottery appears to be the principal Macedonian prehistoric ware, and is found on all sites in abundance. The shapes for the most part are broad, open bowls, sometimes with spouts in the sides. Sometimes more originality both in style and shape are seen, as in the case of some good fragments from a mound near Akbunar. (See Plate II., 6, 7.) This ware belongs properly to the Early Iron Age, and is closely paralleled by similar ware from Theotokou, in Thessaly.² It would be wise, however, to consider it as a transitional ware between Mycenaean and Early Iron Age wares.

(iv) There is a certain amount of Iron Age painted ware of the type found in Thessalian Iron Age graves, but any accurate classification is at present impossible, since all fragments found were isolated finds. A perfect specimen of a single-handled cup was found at Chauchitza (Pl. V., 1). The cup was well made and of plain dull grey clay. In shape it shows the influence of metal-work, and appears to be of the type found in Iron Age burials in Thessaly and continental Greece. Fragments of the same ware were also found at Chauchitza. (See Pl. III., 4, 6.)

Pottery, Stone and Bone Implements.—Stone axe-heads are found on most of the prehistoric mounds. The majority are of normal Neolithic types, some with holes bored through them. They are made for the most part of grey granite or basalt. On the small mound above Sedes³ was also found a portion of a bracelet in black stone. In view of the fact that

¹ No. B 1, *B.S.A.*, xx., p. 127. ² Wace and Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 211, Fig. 146 a, b.

³ Wace, *B.S.A.*, xx, p. 128. Mound B 5.

the prehistoric sites at Vinča and elsewhere in Northern Serbia produced considerable quantities of obsidian (probably of mainland origin), it is significant that no fragments have hitherto been found on any of the Macedonian mounds, although a careful watch has been kept for them. Stone polishers, hammers and pot-boilers are common on all prehistoric mounds. (See Plate III., 9, 10). Bone needles, awls and polishers are also found on most sites. (See Plate VI., 1-6).

Net weights, spindlewhorls and various objects of domestic use made of earthenware are also found on most sites. In a mound near Verenos between Lakes Langaza and Beshik grains of corn, millet and sesame were found associated with fragments of rough pebble-polished and hand-made ware.

To generalise from the scanty evidence of the prehistoric pottery would be rash. Lower stratifications, for the most part, have not yet been systematically examined and late fragments are bound to predominate among those collected. Nevertheless there is little doubt but that the whole prehistoric culture of Macedonia is late even in its earliest periods.

II. *Burials*.—The most important prehistoric cities other than tumuli are (α) the cemetery at Aivasil, (β) the cemetery at Chauchitza.

(α) For the cemetery of Aivasil, see p. 17.

(β) The cemetery at Chauchitza was first discovered in December 1917 during the construction of dugouts. The site is at the southern foot of the ridge that divides the Bogdanci valley from the Ardzan valley on the north side of the Salonika-Constantinople railway near Chauchitza station (Pl. I.). The site was just behind the British lines on the Doiran front and under shell fire continuously from December, 1915 to 21st September, 1918. It is hoped that a systematic excavation will be carried out there. At present no certain evidence is available as to the stratification of the site and objects found there can only be classified according to period. The Stone Age is represented only by certain fragments of pebble-polished ware of the type met with on most of the prehistoric mounds.

An important series of Bronze Age ornaments has however been found on the site. Five very fine bronze wire brooches of the "spectacle" type¹

¹ A fine series of these brooches was found at Patali (p. 30 above), but they appear to be of later date than those from Chauchitza; the latter consist of one continuous double spiral; the former are composed of two separate spirals joined. Similar brooches are found on the mainland sites of Greece. Cf. Waldstein, *The Archive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. LXXXV. 818; Curtius and Adler, *Olympia*, iv., Pl. XXI. 359-361.

(Pl. VII. B, 2-6) together with fragments of others, also a number of bronze bracelets (Pl. VII., 1) and finger rings. All these bronze ornaments are generally of the Hallstatt type. (Pl. VII. B, 7, 9, 10.)

A general survey of prehistoric Macedonia is scarcely possible from such scanty evidence. It seems safe, however, to conclude, without laying undue stress on weak evidence, that prehistoric Macedonia derived most of its culture from the North or at any rate did not get into touch with the South until a date so late as to carry it almost into the Iron Age. The bronze spectacle-brooches of Chauchitza, the bronze finger rings and amber beads of Aivasil show the latest connexion with the North, just as the earliest is to be seen in the incised ware that recalls Bosnian and Dalmatian influences. The earliest connexion with the South is seen in the early Thessalian fragments from Aivatli, though this can hardly be considered as more than a local connexion which was not carried further south than Thessaly. Beyond this there are no clear relations with the South except at the end of the third Late Mycenaean period, when definite imports were sent. Crete and the Islands, as far as we know at present, were a world apart from Macedonia and Thessaly.

(b) *Greek and Roman.*

Topography.

I. *Town Sites.* (a) BERGA. (p) Fig. 17. In addition to the classical town sites recorded by Mr. Wace¹ another large site found in the area occupied by the British Army² and definitely identified as a classical town site is the large flat-topped mound, in the Struma valley, immediately West of the Salonika-Serres road at the 70th kilometre stone from Salonika (Pl. I). The site is of several acres in extent and is surrounded by a rubble and mortar wall the later parts of which appear to be of Byzantine date. This wall follows for the most part the natural contours of the mound although on the south side it is built half way up the slope. At the north west corner is what appears to be a watch tower commanding an extensive view over the plain and enflading a large part of the north wall. On the south side two walls run obliquely down the

¹ *B.S.A.* xx. pp. 123-132.

² The site of Amphipolis was from August, 1916, onwards used by the Bulgars as an entrenched redoubt. It has not been examined in great detail.

(Συχός), each some 15 to 20 kilometres north of the Via Egnatia, as possible sites for Lete. I have visited both these villages and can find no traces that suggest that either was at any time an ancient city of importance. It is a good day's ride from the Langaza and Beshik valleys to either village and the only means of access are steep and rocky mountain paths. It seems incredible that a city of the importance of Lete would have been situated so far from the Via Egnatia.

(γ) KALINDOIA. This town was situated, according to Ptolemy,¹ in Mygdonia, near Lake Prasias. It seems to be identical with the Alindoea of Stephanus Byzantius. It has been suggested² that the site of this town is to be found near the modern village of Kilindio, which seems to preserve the ancient name. Given this area the most probable site for Kalindoia seems to be somewhere near the present station of Chauchitza, on the Salonika-Constantinople line, near where an extensive classical cemetery has been discovered. It would seem to have been situated on a road which would join up both the Vardar and Struma valleys via Lake Doiran and the Butkova valley, so commanding the only cross-route joining up these valleys north of the Via Egnatia.

The cemetery of Chauchitza (already referred to under the prehistoric section) has yielded a large number of objects of classical date in bronze, iron, glass and pottery. Numerous graves have been opened and a series of objects in good preservation found.

The contents of all graves opened are now in the B.S.F. Museum³ and are as follows:—

A. A grave composed of stone slabs. Contents: black glaze vase 9 cm. in height with a narrow neck and a broad lip, of Greek ware. Iron spear-head in good preservation, 29 cm. long. Bronze ring about 3.5 cm. in diameter consisting of a spiral with one end broadened out and decorated with a simple geometrical design in punctured holes. Bronze shield boss 3 cm. in diameter.

B. A grave found under a cairn. (Traces of incineration were to be seen.) Contents: Vase of buff-coloured clay 11.5 cm. in height. Two small fragments of iron implements. Fragment of brown glass.

C. Contents: Earthenware vase 30 cm. in height, undecorated and

¹ iii. 12, 33.

² Chrysochoos in *Παρυασός*, XV. 1893, and Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, Pl. XVI. 4, p. 4.

³ See p. 43 below. Some are now in the British Museum.—[ED.]

unglazed. Bronze vase with bronze handles and base, 9 cm. in height and 8 cm. in diameter and with a base 3.9 cm. in diameter (Pl. VIII., 2). The sides of the vase are decorated with finely worked fluting and the whole vase is a finely made fabric. It was found placed in the neck of the large earthenware vase, where traces of the stains made by the bronze handles of the vase can be seen. Two bronze shield bosses 2.5 cm. in diameter. Iron spearhead, much corroded, 2.5 cm. long. Three small iron spearheads 6.7 and 7.5 cm. long respectively. Two curved iron blades 9.5 and 10.5 cm. each respectively. Six other iron fragments. Four bronze fibulae each about 3 cm. long and lacking the cross pins.

D. A grave made of stone slabs. Contents: Large unglazed and undecorated earthenware vase 25 cm. high with a narrow neck and two handles (one broken off); the diameter of the mouth of the vase is 3.5 cm. Four earthenware bottles about 18 to 20 cm. long. Four bronze beads¹ all of the same cylindrical type and of the following length: 3.5 cm., 3.8 cm., 5 cm., and 7.5 cm. (For type see Pl. VII. B, 10.) Five bronze ornaments: (*a*) A miniature amphora 4 cm. high. (*b*) An ornament in the shape of a bird 3.9 cm. high (Pl. VII. B, 9). (*c*) Two hollow basket-like ornaments 6 and 4 cm. high respectively (Pl. VII. B, 7). (*d*) A brooch, 4 cm. high.

E. Contents: Iron spear 38 cm. long, badly corroded. Part of a bronze fibula similar to those in grave *C*. Some fragments of coarse red pottery.

F. Contents: 15 bronze coins of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. Nothing else was found in this grave.

G. A grave lined with red tiles. Contents: fifteen small bronze coins, probably of the time of Constantine the Great. Besides the above series of graves, which were opened during the autumn of 1917 and the spring of 1918, a large number of scattered objects of the classical period were found on the site. The majority of these objects probably originated from graves, but since the site has not been properly excavated, it is impossible to be certain on this point.

The most important of these isolated finds are two bronze shield bosses, decorated with a cut and incised pattern, one 20 cm., the other 13 cm. in diameter (Pl. VII. A). Two large bronze pins, one 22 cm. and

¹ Similar bronze beads are found in continental Greece. Cf. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* ii. Pl. XCII. 1548-50.

the other 25 cm. long, and a fragment of a third 8.2 cm. long. A small bronze pin shaped like a modern hairpin. Two bronze beads of the same type as those found in grave *D*, one measuring 6 cm. in length and the other 3.5 cm. A bronze bell 3.2 cm. high (Pl. VII. B, 8). Ten small bronze finger rings. Two bronze spiral bracelets, one 7 cm., the other 4.3 cm. in diameter. Two iron spearheads, both corroded, one 24 cm., the other 30 cm. long. The haft of an iron spearhead 13 cm. long. An iron knife 15.5 cm. long. Two iron blades, one 9.5 cm., the other 5 cm. long. A thin glass goblet about 20 cm. high (Pl. VIII., 4). A small one-handed amphora of coarse red ware 17 cm. high, with a neck 7 cm. high; this vase has been rivetted in four places in antiquity. A small vase of coarse grey ware with no handle, 13 cm. high. A Hellenic vase of black glaze ware, 15 cm. high with a vine leaf design in white slip round the base of the neck. A one-handed vase of grey ware 15.5 cm. high. A small one-handed vase of coarse red ware with a spout on one side.

(8) THESSALONIKA. Much has, of course, been discovered in and near Salonika, and considerable light has been thrown on the ancient site of Thessalonika. Whether it is identical with the older Therma is at present uncertain, though available evidence suggests that the original Greek city of Therma was to the east of the walled city of Thessalonika. An examination of the main citadel of Yedi-kulé has shown it to be Hellenic or Hellenistic in outline, the lower courses being for the most part of squared masonry of the third or second century B.C. style. No extensive Hellenic remains have, however, been yet found in the vicinity, and a large cemetery just outside the Vardar Gate on the west side of the city¹ is almost entirely of Roman date. On the other hand, a large cemetery of the fourth century B.C. was found in 1917 some four kilometres east of the town on the shore of Mikro bay, near the fort of Mikro Karaburun. A large number of solidly built stone slab graves were opened by the French authorities. Early in 1918 three other stone slab graves belonging to the same cemetery were opened in the British area, a little to the east of the original discoveries in the area occupied by the 29th General Hospital. Two of these three graves were empty, but one contained the following objects:— A bronze helmet, of what is frequently called the 'Attic' type, in almost

¹ This cemetery was first opened in the winter of 1919 by M. Pelekides, Ephor of Antiquities in Macedonia. I was present when three of these graves were opened.

perfect condition (Pls. VIII., 1, and IX).¹ Three iron sword blades, averaging 40 cm. each in length. Two bronze strigils in fragments. Two bronze knucklebones. Fragments of an ivory and gold dagger. About fifty fragments of gold leaf, originally constituting a wreath. Fragments of four vases of red-figure ware, of good fourth century work (the latter were found outside the actual tomb). A small globe-shaped bottle of coloured opaque glass, 6.5 cm. high (Pl. VIII., 3). The grave itself was composed of large limestone slabs, painted red on the inside.

Whether this cemetery belongs to the Greek settlement on the site of what now is the walled town of Salonika or to some other site further east is at present uncertain. If Therma and Thessalonika were not identical, and if Therma, as is generally believed, lay somewhere in the region of the modern village of Sedes, then this cemetery probably belongs to it. There is, however, at present no clear evidence as to any large Hellenic site outside Salonika near Sedes or other villages in the vicinity.²

II. *Isolated Discoveries*.—(a) Near the 6th kilometre stone from Salonika on the Salonika-Serres road a well preserved milestone was found at the end of 1917. It is of the reign of Trajan and the inscription on it refers to the repair of the Via Egnatia between Durazzo and Kavala. It is about four feet in height and one foot in diameter and is in good preservation.

In proximity to the milestone a large marble head was found, probably representing the Emperor Trajan.³ It is 45 cm. in height and of coarse semi-crystalline marble (Pl. X., 2). Whether the head belonged to a statue is unknown, and beyond the fact that it was found with the milestone no evidence is forthcoming.

(β) Near kilometre stone 64 on the Salonika-Serres road, in a spot high up in the hills overlooking the Struma valley, a bas-relief (L. 50 cm., B. 36 cm., H. 10 cm.) was found early in 1918. It represents two male figures clothed in the himation and three figures of attendants, one on the right and left of the male figure and one between them holding a horse. On the extreme left part of a sixth figure is seen (Pl. X., 1). The work

¹ Pl. VIII., 1 shows the helmet as found, Pl. IX. as it now is after cleaning and repairing at the British Museum.

² See *B.S.A.*, xx. p. 131, No. C 1. The hot baths of Sedes seem to strengthen the identification with Therma. There is a flat-topped mound at Sedes, *B.S.A.*, xx. p. 131, No. C 1.

³ The treatment of the hair and the shape of the head suggest a comparison with the Capitoline head of Trajan (see Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, Pl. XLI.).

is poor and the subject obscure, but it appears to be late third-century Greek work. The material is coarse-grained Macedonian or Thracian marble.

No other remains were found associated with this relief and it seems difficult to account for the presence of antiquities in a place so remote from known sites and in so inhospitable a region. Perhaps the relief is derived from the large town-site near kilometre 70. If, as Leake¹ suggests, the modern Lachana is identical with Ossa, possibly the relief comes from this site.

(γ) The large conical mound near the 5th kilometre stone on the Salonika-Monastir² road was opened in the spring of 1919 by the British authorities and a large vaulted tomb discovered of the usual Macedonian third or fourth century B.C. type (see above, p. 15). The masonry of the inner chamber was found to have collapsed and was not cleared. Enough remained of the outer chamber to give a very fair idea of the tomb, which consisted of a wide arch supported on each side by fluted Doric columns (Pl. XII. 1, 2). No traces of the burial or of objects belonging to it were found, but fragments of a painted stucco sima with 'egg and dart' designs in red and green were discovered in the débris (Pl. XII., 3).

(δ) A small Roman cemetery was discovered by Lieut.-Col. Craig-Brown in 1918 on the slopes of a ravine about 3 kilometres south of the village of Akbunar, some ten kilometres north of Salonika. Several shallow graves were found in which were incinerated bones and fifteen small earthenware bottles. A small bronze brooch of an ordinary type and a coin of Antoninus Pius were also unearthed.

From the various discoveries of Greek and Roman date above described no very coherent idea of Macedonia in historical times emerges. The sites of the cities of Berga, Lete and Kalindoia seem to be more or less exactly fixed and light is thrown on the ancient sites of Thessalonika and Therma. The course of the Via Egnatia remains relatively obscure and beyond the fact that its course corresponded with the modern Salonika-Serres road at least between the 5th kilometre stone and the village of Aivatli little new concerning it has been learned.

¹ *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. iii. p. 231.

² Wace, *B.S.A.*, xx. p. 125. Mound A. 7. This mound was excavated in 1864, but the tomb was not discovered.

Negative evidence, though notoriously unreliable, is useful in the case of the upper and middle parts of the Struma valley, where no classical town sites other than Amphipolis and Berga are known, and the valley has been explored in greater detail than perhaps any other part of the British area.

The exigencies of war rendered methodical exploration for the most part impossible, but from the occasional discoveries made it has been possible to piece together a certain limited idea of classical culture in that part of Macedonia occupied by the troops of the British Salonika Force.

S. CASSON.

POTTERY of the classical periods is poorly represented in the Salonika collection as compared with the wealth in incised and painted wares of early date. Attic red-figure is the fabric most frequently found, but always in a fragmentary or decayed condition; and where any design can be traced, it is of the roughest and latest phase of the style.¹ There is one graceful early-Hellenistic jug, black with a gilded wreath on the shoulder; and a few indeterminate fragments represent the decorated fabrics of later date down to the glazed ware of Byzantine times.

The only piece which merits attention is a Corinthian pyxis (Pl. V., 4) found in pieces on a British dump with other oddments after the fire at Salonika in August, 1917. Probably it belonged to one of the refugees, was broken in the hurry of flight, and left behind as worthless. It was given to the H.Q. museum by Major Wade. It is practically complete except for the cover, but the surface has suffered severely; over two thirds of the circumference little beyond the silhouette of the paint remains. H. 135 mm.; diam. 130 mm.

In general outline the vase follows the usual shape of Corinthian pyxides—spherical body, low spreading foot, neck set vertically on the shoulder and overshadowed by the heavy overturned lip. Three female busts are set on the shoulder supporting the lip, above which they slightly project. The heads of these busts are of fairly advanced archaic style, with black hair waved on each side. The eyes are black; around the neck is a red necklace with three black dots indicating pendants, and below this comes a second

¹ One fragment of the finest style shows the nude torso of a spearman to the right.

row of pendants. The lower part of the bust is covered, to represent drapery, with black paint, with indeterminable traces of red.

The other decoration is in the usual black and red paint, with incised inner markings roughly executed and carelessly followed by the brush. Black paint covers the interior and exterior of the neck. On the top of the lip are thin and thick red bands within a black line; on the side of the lip are three rows of black dots. On the body at the base of the busts, two rows of black dots between lines divide the available surface into two friezes; of these the upper, broken up by the busts into three sections, contains only the conventional doubled palmette and lotus-bud pattern. The lower or main frieze is continuous, and has a schematic design grouped about a Siren with outstretched wings, standing with its body to the right and its head turned back to the left. On either side of this come a seated Siren, and behind it a panther, both facing inwards, then a seated griffin turned outwards. The two griffins thus confronting each other are separated by a lotus and palmette ornament immediately below one of the busts. The field is abundantly filled with rosettes, ivy-leaves and rows or clusters of dots. Beneath the frieze is a broad black band, and a purple line runs round the top of the foot.

Corinthian pyxides with the plastic decoration of human busts are not common; a list is given in Wilisch, *Altkorinthische Thonindustrie*, p. 22, Pl. I. Fig. 13. The British Museum possesses two examples; one acquired in 1873, of early Corinthian style with friezes of animals, and another from Thebes, published in Rayet-Collignon, *Céramique Grecque*, Fig. 35. In the earlier examples the bust comprises only the head and shoulders (cf. Wilisch, *loc. cit.*, and Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, Taf. XLVII. 1), while on vases of later date, as the British Museum example from Thebes, the entire upper half of the body is included. The Salonika vase falls into the latter category; and this indication of a low date in the history of Corinthian vase-painting is supported by the advanced moulding of the heads and the rough careless character of the painted decoration, which suggests a date in the decadence of the style.

F. N. PRYCE.

NOTE.—The antiquities above described have now very generously been given by the Greek Government to the British nation, at the request of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir G. Milne, and have been placed in the British Museum. The various archaeological officers in charge of the collection, in accordance with their instructions, had always scrupulously respected the rights of the Greek Government, and had worked, so far as was practicable, in co-operation with the Greek civil and military authorities and the Greek Ephors of Antiquities. The collection was regarded as the nucleus for the formation of a local museum for Macedonia. Its free gift by Greece has now made the whole accessible to British students. No doubt when it becomes possible to carry on systematic excavations in Macedonia, the Salonika Museum will be reconstituted on a larger scale and with fuller evidence as to the archaeology of the country.

E. A. G.

MACEDONIA.

III.—PREHISTORIC POTTERY.

THIS pottery was picked up by Mr. Blegen of the American School and myself on a low mound on the edge of the Bereketli marsh, which is the source of the Angista and other streams which water the plain of Drama. The mound is about one hundred yards south of the Drama-Kavalla road at the eighteenth kilometre, that is about two kilometres east of Philippi, nearly midway between Drama and Kavalla and at the spot where stands the great stone with the inscription to Caius Vibius,¹ hence the name of the spot 'Dikilitash,' the 'Upright Stone.' It should be noted that all the pottery was picked up on the surface and no sort of excavation was made.

Pottery.

There are three chief varieties of pottery, all hand-made:—

(1) This is the ware called B 3 *a* by Tsountas² and Wace-Thompson,³ also Dimeni ware from the place in Thessaly where it was first found. The biscuit is fine reddish, the surface hand-polished, varying in colour from a bright chestnut red to a plum colour, but the former is by far the commoner. On this the patterns are painted in a dull paint that varies from nearly black to a dull brown. The technique is good and the pieces are often not more than a quarter of an inch thick. The shapes are usually flattish bowls or platters of the common Dimeni shape.⁴ Very often they

¹ Heuzey-Daumet, *Mission de Macédoine*, i. p. 45.

² Τσοῦντας, Διμήνη καὶ Σέσκλο.

³ See Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, Chap. II. for the different kinds of Thessalian pottery mentioned below.

⁴ Tsountas, *op. cit.* Pl. 20, Fig. 1.

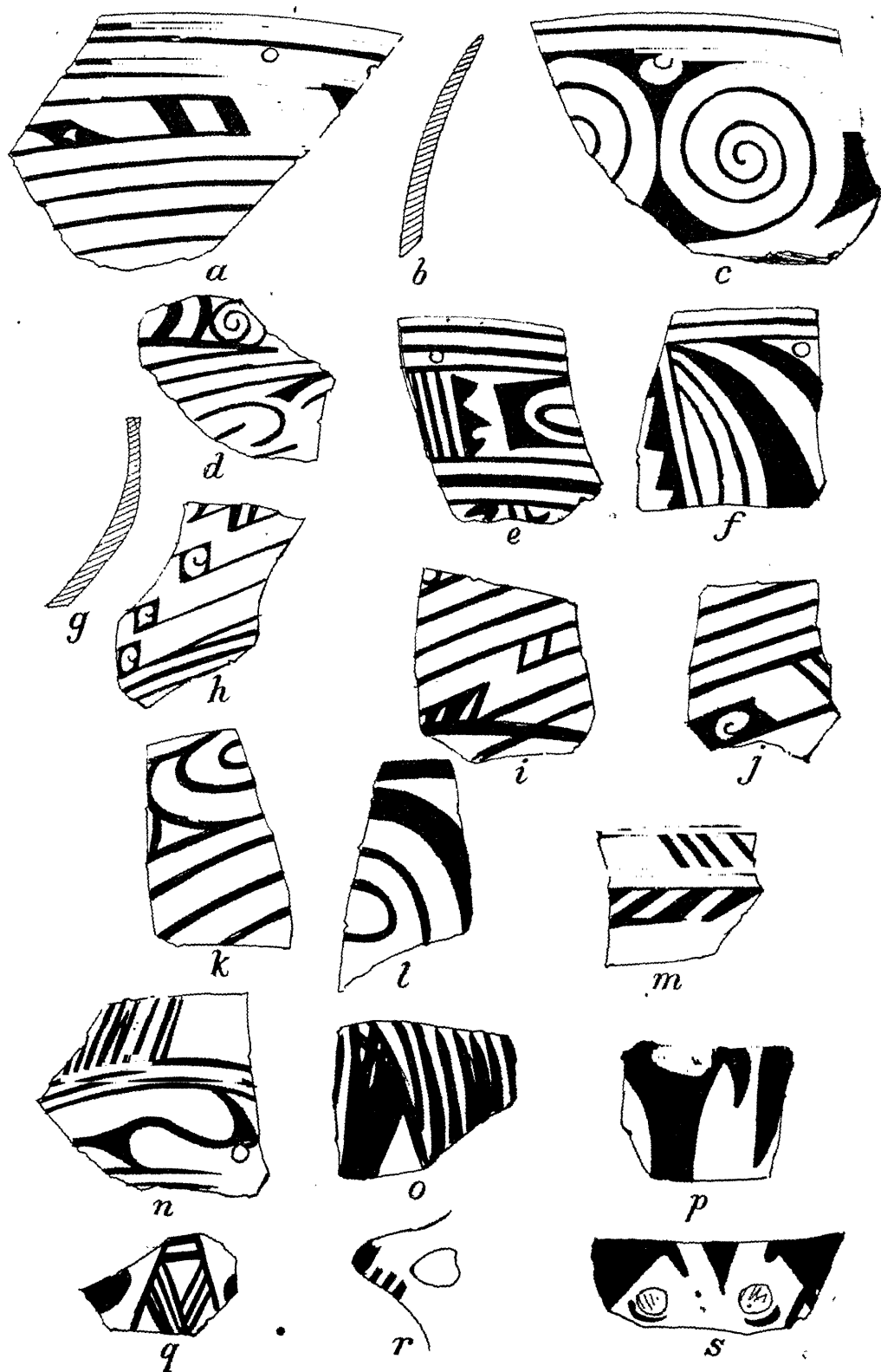


FIG. 1.—PREHISTORIC POTTERY FROM DIKILITASH, Type (1), (Scale F: 1).

have holes bored singly or in pairs near the rim. The patterns show the same mixture of geometrical and curvilinear elements noticed in Thessaly, straight lines, the curious rhomboid figures seen in Fig. 1, *a, h, i, j*, spirals large (Fig. 1, *c*) or small and inserted in other figures (Fig. 1, *a, h, j*), and strange indeterminate figures (Fig. 1, *e* and *n*). These patterns cover the whole vase and are laid on in barbaric profusion with very little idea of arrangement, just as in Thessaly, but the step-like patterns found there are absent here, and solid lines alone are used to form patterns instead of a double line with the intermediate space shaded by cross lines as in Thessaly.

This is dated in Thessaly to the second Neolithic period and was found in sites round the gulf of Volo and Larissa. Specimens were also found in some number by both French and English in the Vardar and Langada plains in Macedonia, so like the next ware that it will probably be found to be of Macedonian origin.¹

(2) Much the commonest. This is the ware called Γ2α1 by Tsountas and Wace-Thompson. The biscuit is rather fine, black or often red, often black in parts, red in others, according to the baking, surface hand-polished on which the patterns are drawn in dull white paint which is now very faint and powdery and can often only be seen in certain lights. The black ware is usually painted, the red often unpainted. The shapes are flattish platters or bowls; often there is a pattern on the rim and they are usually painted inside and out. The handles are often merely lugs bored vertically or horizontally. The patterns consist of geometrical designs, parallel lines in pairs of threes, often set diagonally, the one set to right, the other to left (Fig. 2, *g, m, n*), patterns like degenerate maeanders (Fig. 2, *b, f*),² or curvilinear designs. In the latter a very characteristic arrangement is a row of concentric circles or spirals with the space above and below occupied by a circle of white paint. This ware, like (1), was found in Thessaly, also in Macedonia; it has much in common with the next ware (3) and both with the ware from the Philippopolis districts.³ The degenerate maeanders seen in (1) (Fig. 1, *a, h, i*)⁴ are common in Bulgaria and also in (3).⁵

(3) Coarse black or reddish biscuit, often half an inch or more in

¹ Cf. Wace-Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 243, and Seure-Degrad, *B.C.H.* 1906, pp. 351 ff., Fig. 60.

² *B.C.H. loc. cit.*

³ Both from Dikilitash, but not in Thessaly.

⁴ *B.C.H. loc. cit.* Fig. 47, 64 and 67.

⁵ Cf. Fig. 3, *c, e*; cf. also the diagonal parallels of Fig. 2, *e*, with *B.C.H. loc. cit.* Fig. 60.

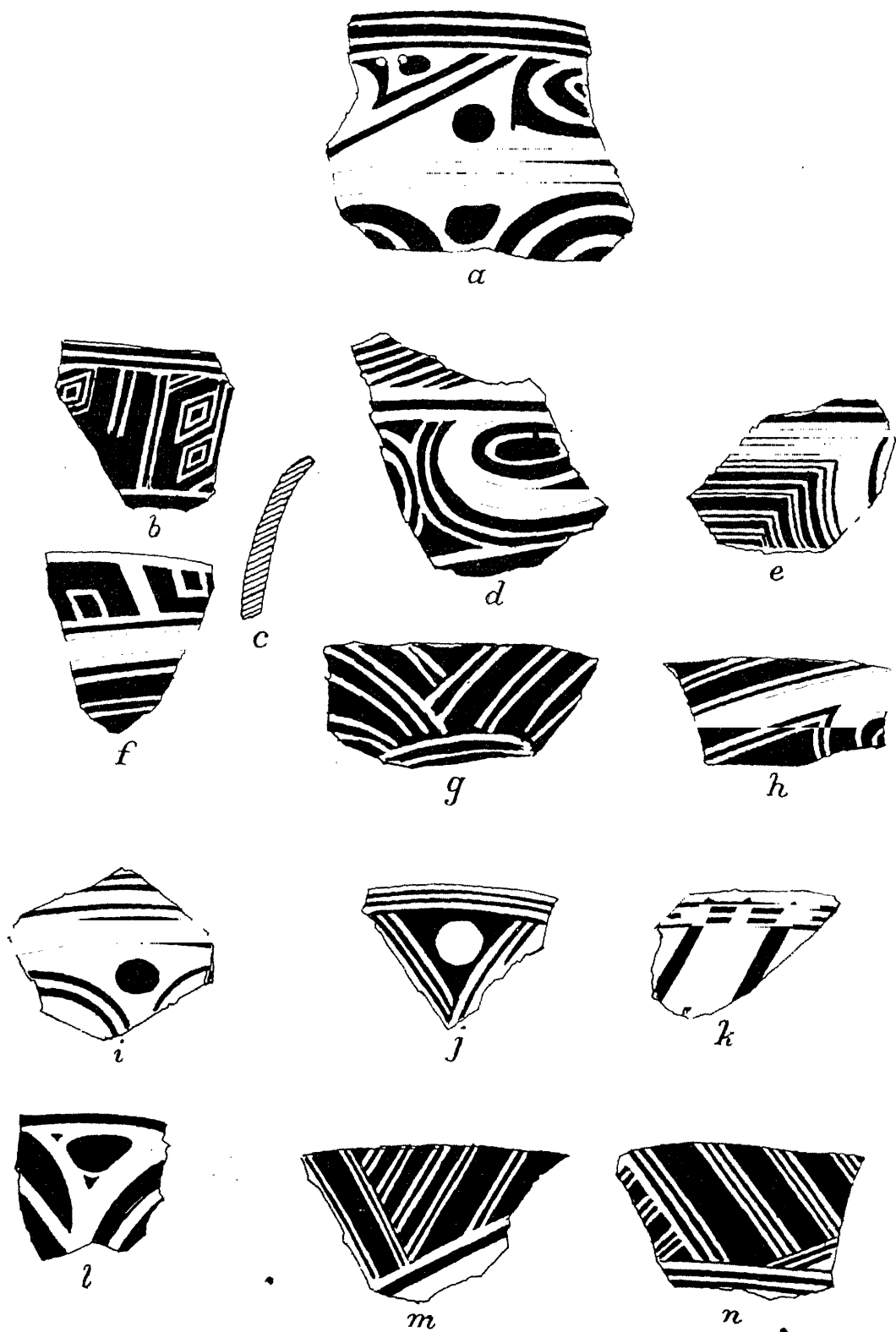


FIG 2.—PREHISTORIC POTTERY FROM DIKILITASH, Type (2), (Scale 1 : 1 $\frac{1}{2}$).

thickness; on the dull surface the patterns are incised and usually filled in with white matter. The shapes are large saucers, often with flat incurved lips usually with patterns on them, and often a design is filled in with small cross hatchings (Fig. 3, *c, e, p*) or the edges of the lips are notched. The patterns are very similar to those of the previous ware, parallel lines, spirals, maeanders, etc. Several points of similarity have already been pointed out with the Philippopolis ware.¹ This seems to be rough household ware corresponding to the previous and like it to date to the Third Thessalian period.

There are a few interesting specimens which combine the two techniques—incision plus paint.² These sherds seem to show that the two wares are of the same date.

Various Finds.

(1) A small head in hand-polished ware (Pl. XI, 1); the picture shows its appearance better than any description. The eyes, mouth and other features are rendered by incision. There seems to be a sort of close fitting skull cap. The modelling is extraordinary for such an early period.

(2) A similar small head, but broken, in black hand-polished ware.

(3) A small head of the type from Butmir in Bosnia.³

(4) The lower portions of two female figures one of which is represented in Fig 3, *t, u*. They are both narrow waisted and steatopygous. The one not represented has the two legs joined together and tapering away below to a point like the Cucuteni figures.⁴ The sex is coarsely shown. The incised lines may represent tattooing. The stomach projects almost into a point.⁵

(5) Fragments of several roughly made animals in coarse clay with an ochre wash.

(6) Clay sling bullets (?) pear-shaped and loom weights, one incised.

¹ We may compare the spirals of Fig. 3, *a, f*, with *B.C.H. loc. cit.* Fig. 59*b*; also those of Fig. 3, *d*, with *B.C.H. loc. cit.* Fig. 36 in white on a reddish surface, or Fig. 59*b* incised.

² Fig. 3, *o*, is the corner of a box-shaped vase in the second ware, of which the lower half is incised while the upper half is done in dull white paint.

³ Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, Taf. 5, Fig. 1-3.

⁴ Hoernes, *op. cit.* p. 211, Fig. 41-46; cf. also those from Sultan, near Shumla (Wace-Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 258).

⁵ Cf. specimens from Thessaly and Eastern Thrace in Tsountas, *op. cit.* Pl. 32, and *B.C.H. loc. cit.*, Fig. 38.

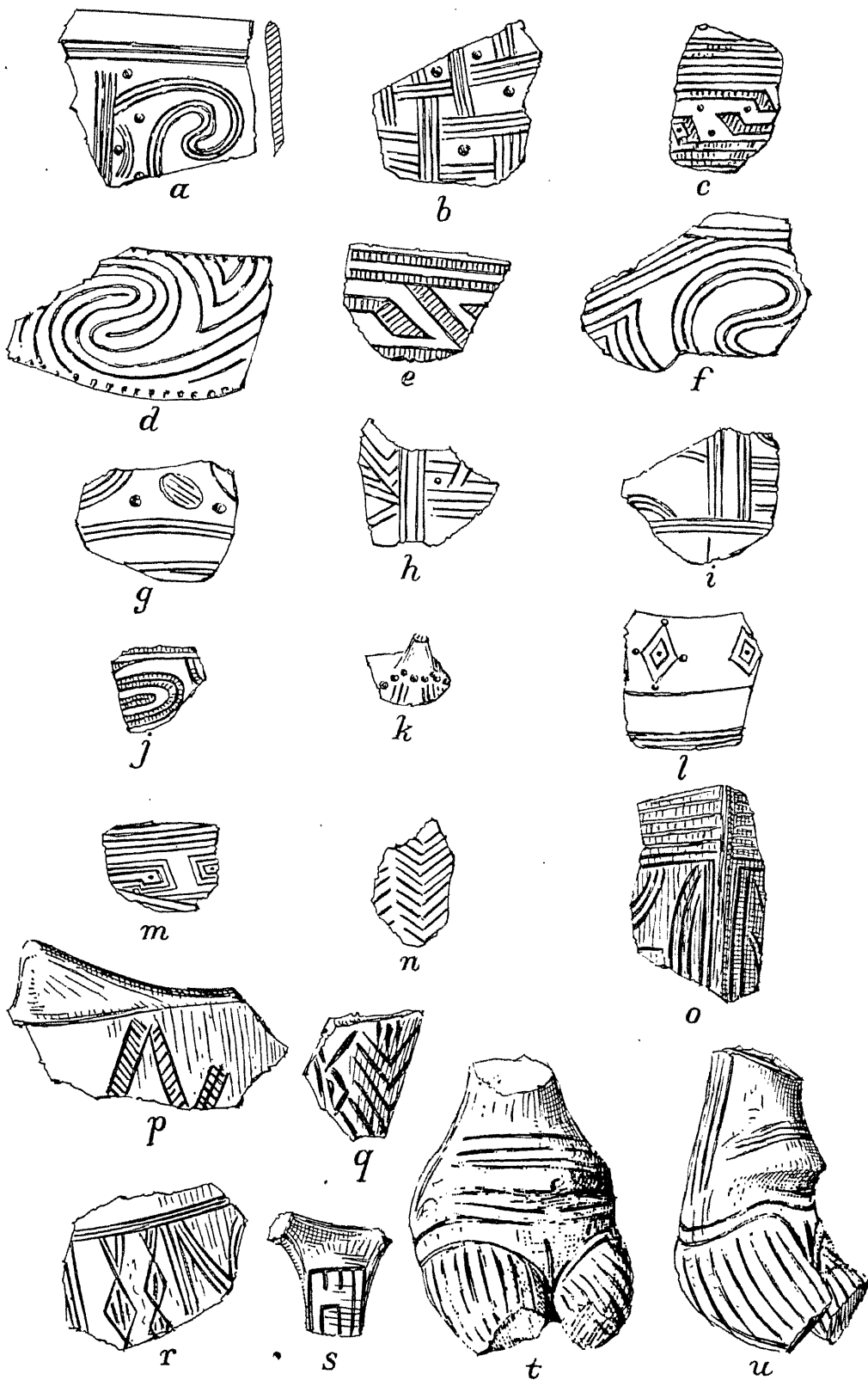


FIG. 3.—PREHISTORIC POTTERY AND TERRACOTTA FIGURES FROM DIKILITASH. POTTERY FROM PLATANAKI AND H. ELIAS. (Scale 1 : 1.)

(7) A small *pintadera* with long handle and zigzag pattern for tattooing.¹

(8) Fragments of oval flat-bottomed saucers with incurved rim supported on four legs in polished ware.²

To sum up, these wares have been also found on a similar mound at Drama and will probably prove to be common Macedonian types. All their analogies, as one would expect at that period point northwards. They seem to form a Macedonian group connecting with the East Thracian group above mentioned and on the south side penetrating to Thessaly.

This pottery connects with Eastern Thrace in patterns, though the actual wares do not seem to have been found there yet, but they may be local Macedonian varieties of a large group covering the whole of the old Thracian area from Moldavia to the Aegaeon coasts.

The remaining sherds depicted on Fig. 3 were picked up with many others on the two mounds at Platanaki and Hagios Elias (*Tumba*) just outside Salonika.³ They are of Wace-Thompson's second type. The bulk of the ware consisted of the usual Γ_3 type of monochrome hand-polished stuff, including a number of the well-known 'wishbone' handles,⁴ a certain amount of incised ware, pottery with coarse ochre slip and zigzag designs in dull purple, also coarse ware the surface of which looks as if it had been dabbed over with a cloth when wet, also one or two Mycenaean (Late Minoan III.) sherds and many hammer heads of the bored type.⁵

F. B. WELCH.

¹ Cf. Thessalian examples in Tsountas, *op. cit.* Figs. 272 and 273.

² Cf. *B.C.H.* Figs. 49, 51 and 52, also 86 and 88.

³ *B.S.A.* xx. p. 127 ff. B. 1 (H. Elias), B. 21 (Platanaki).

⁴ Cf. Tsountas, *op. cit.* Figs. 186, 187, 188, 189, 191-193; Vassits, *Jablanica*, Figs. 122, 123, 125, 128; Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 186, Fig. 134.

⁵ No. *p* is hand-polished, No. *q* is reddish surface, hand-polished with very deep incisions filled with white; No. *s* is dull black ware with white-filled incisions.

MACEDONIA.

IV.—MOUNDS AND OTHER ANCIENT SITES IN THE REGION OF SALONIKA.

THE object of these notes is to draw attention to some ancient sites mostly within easy reach of Salonika which seem to have hitherto escaped the notice of travellers. It has been possible to make a few additions to the list of mounds published by Mr. Wace in 1915, and supplementary notes are added in a few cases where further exploration has confirmed or modified his conclusions. A few of the mounds given in his list have been excavated with varying degrees of thoroughness, but it is to be feared that the results will not be published as a whole, and in many instances not at all.

Many of the mounds mentioned in these notes have been visited by both the authors independently. The Rev. W. Cooksey, C.F., has supplied the bulk of the information in Parts I., II. and III., regarding the sites in the vicinity of Salonika, and all of it with regard to the sites on and near Mt. Kotos (Hortiach Dag). Mr. Woodward is responsible for the notes concerning sites further north, and also for the present form of Mr. Cooksey's notes, and for the maps which illustrate the article. The latter are based on the maps produced by the respective Survey Sections of French and British H.Q., Salonika, by kind permission of the Director of Military Intelligence at the War Office. Mr. S. Casson has kindly looked over these notes whilst in MS. and has supplied additional information which has been incorporated at various points. These additions are followed by his initials [S. C.]. The note at the end of the paper is also contributed by him.—[ED.]

I.—NOTES ON MOUNDS DESCRIBED BY MR. WACE.

(*B.S.A.* xx., pp. 123-132.)

The classification into Funereal Tumuli (A), Prehistoric Settlements (B), and Greek Town Sites (C) is retained, though the theory that some mounds of type A were, perhaps after all, look-out stations, or places from which fire-signals might be sent, receives some confirmation from the fact that excavation of further specimens of this class yielded no results in the form of a built tomb.

A 1, A 2. Of these two mounds, that on the crest of the hill has

been explored by the French, but yielded no finds.¹ From the stratification disclosed it appears that the excavated earth was piled on the highest point of a natural rise, and allowed to fall down the sides, after which the slopes were trimmed. The other mound, near the new railway to 'Mikra Bay' has been cut into without result. It is composed of almost white calcareous earth, of which there is here an outcrop.

A 9. The central mound of the three which rise on the ridge east of Dudular has been excavated for military purposes. The bulk of the mound consists of the stony rubble forming the normal surface of this region, but the south-west portion of the mound was composed of the reddish-brown mould, practically free from stones, which underlies the rubble stratum. This too seems a pretty late geological deposit, to judge by the shells which it contains at intervals. It appears that here a pit was first excavated, and the upcast thrown towards the south-west and that with the pit for centre the mound was then built up. Otherwise it is hard to account for the presence of the lower type of soil, as there are no surface 'pockets' of it in the vicinity.

A 11. This mound has yielded some pottery described as 'very beautiful and perfect' but not seen by either of the authors.

A 12, A 13, A 14. One of these contained a burial chamber.

A 15 ff. The French devoted some time to the exploration of some of these mounds, but no results have been heard of by the authors.

B 2. This was excavated during the summer of 1916 by the French, who cut a horizontal shaft into the centre of the mound. This yielded considerable quantities of prehistoric pottery and traces of rough walls, with patches of burnt soil.² The east slope seemed to have been occupied by an early Byzantine building, possibly a church.³

B 3. A fragment of a stone bracelet was picked up here, in 1916, by Mr. Woodward, and there is much prehistoric pottery on the site. A great portion of this mound, which is particularly steep to the north-east, consists of a natural rise.

C 3. This is kidney-shaped in plan, and measures approximately 230 x 100 yards.

C 6. The 'cone' at the south end of this striking site, thought by Mr.

¹ See p. 4.

² See p. 27.

³ In the floor of one of the rooms appeared to be the remains of a cruciform font.

Wace to be natural, is undoubtedly a prehistoric mound, placed on an outcrop of fresh-water limestone. There is a great quantity of prehistoric pottery to be seen on the surface, and a flint knife was found high up on

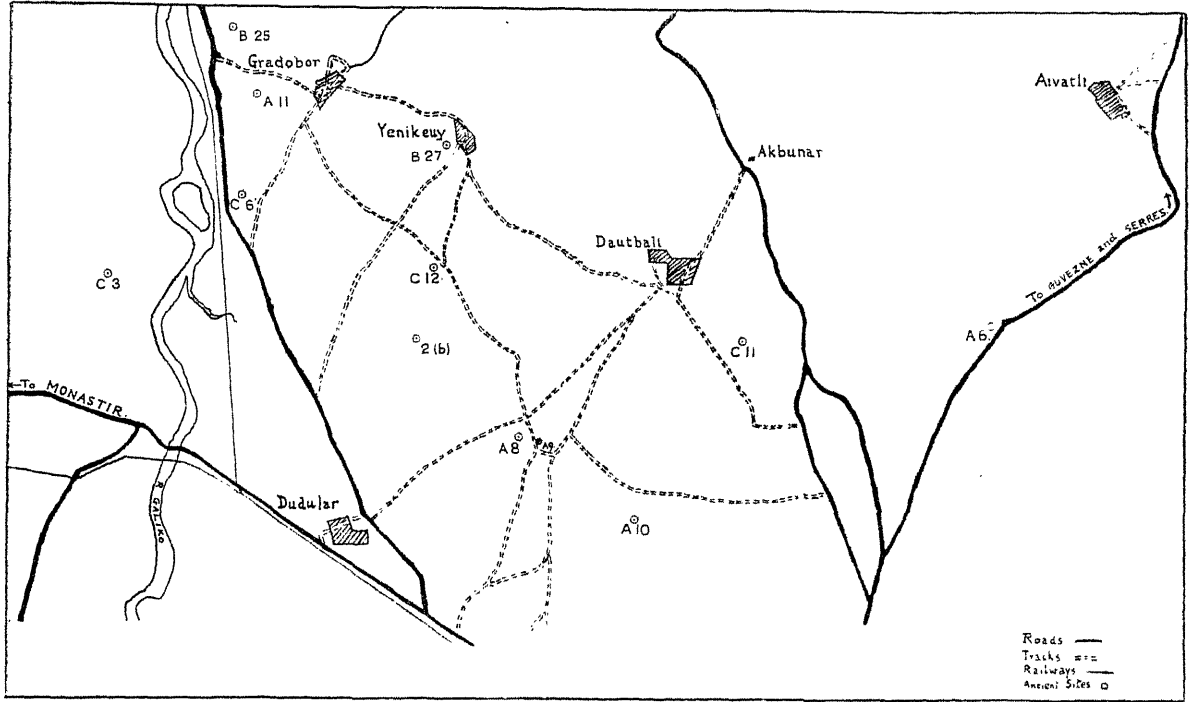


FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP SHOWING ANCIENT SITES NORTH OF SALONIKA. (Scale *ca.* 1 : 100,000.)

the west side of the 'cone' about a foot below the surface.¹ Remains of presumably later walls are visible near the south end of the lower portion of the site, on the side facing the Galiko.

II.—MOUNDS NOT IN MR. WACE'S LIST.²

Type A.—No definite additions can be made to this class. But see below, p. 62, Note.

Type B.—I. (B 27). At Yeni-Keuy³ (Jeny-Köj) two kilometres east-

¹ Now in the possession of A. Don, Esq. M.D., of Aberdeen.

² These (where shown) are numbered on the map (Fig. 1) in continuation of the numbering in Mr. Wace's paper, *loc. cit.*

³ It will be noted that the spelling of place-names is not uniform in the various papers. This is due to the difficulty of transliterating Turkish names, and as there is no generally accepted system it has been thought better to allow the contributors to transliterate as they please.—[Ed.]

south-east of Gradobor village, on a platform of natural outcrop immediately south-west of the village is a large tumulus, with a considerable quantity of pottery on its sides. A deep ravine to the north-west of the site gives it additional strength.

2. (B 28). In the valley of the stream draining the Hortiach plateau in the direction of Kapudjilar (Kapoudzides), about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east of that village.

3. (B 29). In the marshy land between lakes Langaza and Beshik, about a mile north-east of Langavuk. Much prehistoric pottery, including a cooking-pot of dark hand-burnished ware, almost complete, was discovered here in digging trenches on the summit. [These are old Balkan War (1912-13) trenches. A large rough earthenware cooking-pot, brown, not black, said to have been found here, is in the B.S.F. Museum at Salonika.—S. C.]

4. (B 30). At Chauchitza (or Causiča) about seven miles north-north-east of Karasouli Station, and about 300 yards north of Chauchitza siding on the Constantinople railway, is a low mound which had been occupied, perhaps continuously, from prehistoric to late Roman times. Partial excavations revealed prehistoric pottery, a small Hellenistic bronze vase in perfect condition and coins of Constantine's dynasty, associated with urn burials. See also p. 32, where Mr. Casson discusses this site.

Type C.—In addition to the group of sites on the Hortiach plateau, which are described below, the following additions should be made to Mr. Wace's list.

1. (C 11). Near Dautbali, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Salonika, on the west bank of a ravine about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile south-east of the village, is a town site roughly the shape of a flat iron, with the broad end to the south. At its northern end the ground rises so as to form a slight mound. The site is for the most part a natural formation, but its north end appears to be defended by an artificial ditch, and the southern scarp to be artificially emphasised. The buildings of which the foundations are visible on the summit of this site do not appear to be ancient although among them are fragments of large pithoi of coarse clay. Early Hellenic tombs were found close to the site, and on the site itself was found the fore-arm of a female (?) statue of about half life-size, in white marble, wearing a bracelet.

2. (a) (C 12). About a mile south of Yeni-Keuy (Jeniköj), on the west bank of a ravine running towards south-south-west is another

town-site, approximately four-square to the points of the compass. On the east of the ravine at this point are a series of shallow rectangular entrenchments of doubtful date. No surface finds have been reported.

(b) About a mile to the south-east of this site, at a point where this ravine is joined by another from the north-east, and close to a spring beside the old track from Lembet to Gradobor is a patch of ground rich in pottery of all ages. The erosion of the stream bed shows a quantity of stratified remains, among which is some pottery of a conspicuously bright red type, at a depth of about three feet below the present ground-level, in a layer of red earth resembling that mentioned under A 9 above.

West of the former site 2 (a) are the remains of an ancient causeway and bridge not far from the village of Gradobor.

3. There is what appears to be a town-site rather less than a mile north-north-west of Gradobor, on a spur of the main ridge of hills, not visited by either of the authors.

III.—SITES ON AND NEAR THE HORTIACH PLATEAU.

About ten miles east-south-east of Salonika the prominent two-peaked mass of the Hortiach mountain rises to a height of nearly 4,000 feet. The name Kotos belongs strictly to the higher of the two peaks, which lies to the south-east of that to which is given the name Hortiach Dagh (Hortač Dag on the Austrian Staff Map). West of this mountain lies the so-called Hortiach plateau from which the ground falls steeply to the north, less steeply to the south, and on the west rises again to the lower ridge of Beaz Tash. The formation of the ground suggests that this plateau was once a lake-basin which was eventually drained by two streams, one falling steeply from the north-east corner and the other towards the south. All round this plateau ancient remains abound.

1. In Hortiach village, at the foot of the mountain, numerous marble fragments, some of apparently Roman date, are built into the church. This is an early Byzantine cruciform structure, the pendentives being carried by a horse-shoe shaped string-course in the angles. In addition to some columns of *verde antique* and other unfluted columns of common marble there are some fragments of good egg-and-dart moulding; the threshold, a slab of hard black shale, is incised with circles and lines, cut with a bow-drill, the former about an inch in depth, the latter less.

2. The aqueduct, of which a large fragment is preserved in good condition, stands in the bed of the stream draining the plateau towards the south. In the foundations are blocks of marble and travertine (quarried locally) resembling the style of the small surviving portion of the original Hellenistic walls of Salonika. Portions of the aqueduct may be Roman work, but the bulk is Byzantine. Possibly the water was carried at two levels, one over the lower, and one over the upper set of arches. [This aqueduct was found intact and in working order nearly as far as Akukli. It was restored and used in 1916 as the water-supply for British troops here.—S. C.].

3. Rather more than a mile south of the aqueduct, on the old road from Hortiach to Salonika, via Akukli and Kapudjilar, is a stone bridge of Roman type, built of travertine, and probably rebuilt from the old material. [This is most probably Turkish, and is on a Turkish road.—S. C.].

4. On the knoll above this bridge is a well-marked site, largely overgrown with trees: it has a double wall of considerable height and thickness standing at many points, and is strengthened with an artificial ditch and an extra wall at the point where it joins the neighbouring high ground.

5. Another site exists concealed among the chestnut trees north of the village of Hortiach. [These two are probably large Byzantine summer residences, not towns.—S. C.].

6. A hill fort exists (close to the golf-links) at the junction of the roads to Kirech-Keuy (Kireköj) and Kapudjilar, on a commanding site overlooking the plain south-east of Salonika, and the bay, with Olympus, Pelion and Ossa visible in the distance on a clear day. On the south there is a steep fall to a ravine running down towards Kapudjilar. On the hill-top, which is scarped all round, is an almost circular enclosure, with the remains of a palisade of pointed stones inclined outwards. In excavating the summit (for a dug-out) an ancient excavation resembling in form a British Celtic burial was found, which yielded only a few indeterminate potsherds. On the southern slope is a spring enclosed in a rough wall connected with that round the summit.

7. Near the head of the steep ravine, falling towards Aivasil from the north-east angle of the plateau, is a striking site of great natural strength. The site is on a narrow projecting spur flanked by two ravines which unite close below the north end of the site, and rises perhaps 500 or 600 feet

above the level of the stream-beds at its highest point. To the south an artificial cut has been made, uniting the two ravines, to a depth of 60 or 70 feet, with a vertical face on the town side. The site is on two levels and at a point on the west side is a wall of unsquared stone still standing to a height of about ten feet. South of the protecting ditch four graves were found by troops in pitching a camp, but unfortunately no record of any sort was kept of their contents. They were formed of slabs of shale. The site is likely to yield many more graves, and would well repay excavation. It appears to have been artificially levelled, and rises above the ground level of the main plateau.

It is possible that this site was occupied in pre-classical times as well, as the interesting graves which yielded jewellery and other finds of the geometric period when excavated in 1916¹ were situated lower down the same ravine to the south-east of Aivasil.

8. Remains on the Summit of Mt. Kotos.

The summit of Mt. Kotos, the higher of the two peaks of the Hortiach Mountain, consists of a ridge higher at the south end than at the north, with a narrow saddle between the two extremities of the ridge, and is precipitous on all sides, though less so on the west. The whole summit ridge shows many traces of ancient occupation,² the area comprised being about equivalent to that of many of the city-sites mentioned in these notes, though rather longer and narrower than the average of them.

(a) At the highest point of the northern end of the summit ridge the native rock has been cut out so as to form a shallow flat-bottomed basin, presumably to collect rain water. At one point near its southern edge is a series of circular sinkings deep enough to permit the use of a pitcher to draw water from the basin, which seems elsewhere to be only about four inches deep.

(b) A few yards to the south of this basin, and slightly below the summit is a sunk store-chamber or cistern of bee-hive shape, with sides of rough stone plastered over, and a circular opening at the top. Its diameter is about eight feet, and the depth to the top of the débris accumulated within is slightly greater.

¹ By Lt.-Col. T. Gayer Anderson, D.S.O., and Lt.-Commander Ernest Gardner, R.N.V.R. See pp. 17 ff.

² During 1917 some portions of the area were excavated by the French authorities, but the work was apparently abandoned, and in July, 1918, many of the trenches were falling in.

(c) To the south-west of this cistern is the mouth of a shaft about four feet square, lined with slabs of shale, which has not been cleared to a depth of more than three feet.

(d) Between (b) and (c) is a tomb formed of shale slabs plastered on the inside, with covering slabs of the same material, in the form of a vault, of which only about one third now remains.

(e) Close by is a large block of marble with a rough moulding which has only been partially uncovered.

(f) The higher, southern end of the site has yielded the remains of a hut-circle or *tholos*-tomb about twelve feet in diameter, of which the walls still stand to a height of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above floor-level. It is built of small blocks of the local stone, roughly hammer-dressed, and is approached by a narrow corridor leading to a doorway on the north side. This doorway, of which the sides converge towards the top, has a doorpost preserved on the right hand side, made of a thick slab of the coarse local marble.

A large heap of fallen stones to the east of this building indicates that a second structure, of considerable size, stood close by.

(g) Close to the extreme south-east angle of the site is a short stretch of wall running east and west, built of coursed masonry of which the stones are roughly hammer-dressed and vary in thickness from eighteen inches in the lowest courses to six or eight, higher up. Ten courses remain standing. The wall does not appear to continue across the whole breadth of the site at its southern end, and on the east overhangs the precipice, indicating that the portion which presumably returned along the east side of the site has been carried away by a rock-fall on a large scale.

A considerable quantity of pottery is to be found lying on the site especially on the saddle between the two extremities.¹

IV.—SITES TO THE NORTH OF THE SALONIKA PLAIN. (Fig. 2.)

In the area bounded on the west by the Vardar, on the north by the foot-hills lying between that river and Lake Doiran, on the east by the railway line from Salonika via Sarigöl and Kilindir to Doiran station, and extending on the south as far as the south end of Lake Amatovo, many of

¹ A stone implement of the *coup-de-poing* type was found on the site, close to the shaft (c) above, by Lt.-Col. James, R.A., M.C., in 1918. It was of a dark-green stone, resembling jade (?), and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. Flaked like the normal 'palaeolithic' implements it had been subsequently polished smooth by use, not by grinding.

the hill-tops show signs of ancient occupation. The following list of sites is by no means complete, and there is little evidence of the date of many of the sites described.

1. Five hundred yards south of the village of Vardino, on the east bank of the stream draining from Lake Amatovo into the Vardar is a

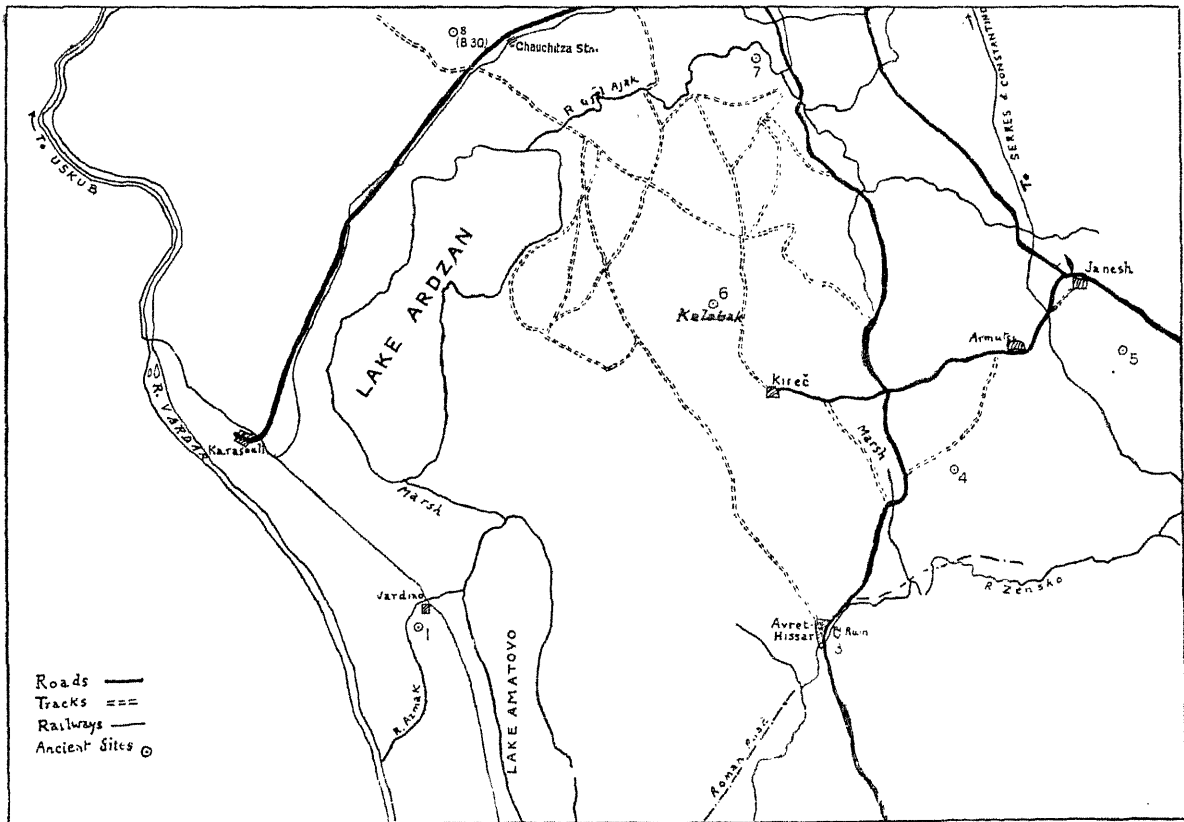


FIG. 2.—SKETCH MAP SHOWING ANCIENT SITES BETWEEN JANESH AND THE VARDAR.
(Scale ca. 1 : 200,000.)

large steep-sided tumulus, even larger than that at Yeni-Keuy (II. B (1) above), and probably prehistoric.

2. East of Vardarovci village, and about a mile south-south-west of Amatovo station is a large city-site crowned with a low tumulus (not visited).¹

¹ This site is about five miles south of No. 1, and therefore does not come into the area shown on the map.

3. The southern slopes of the hill on which rises the Byzantine castle of Avret-Hissar (see below, p. 98 ff.).

4. On a hill top five kilometres north-east of Avret-Hissar is a small 'city-site' or large fort with sides artificially scarped. Many tile fragments lie on the site.

5. East of the Sarigöl-Kilindir railway, about a mile south-south-east of the ruins of Janesh is a prominent site which appears to be a prehistoric tumulus of which the top has been levelled down and occupied in historic times.

6. The prominent rocky outcrop of Kalabak (or Pic de Krečevo) rising south-east of Lake Ardzan was occupied by a settlement of some sort in classical times. Coins are reported to have been found and Hellenic pottery fragments are plentiful.

7. The summit of the spur north of Mihalova (situated immediately north of the *c* in Malovci on the Austrian Map (1/200,000)) has a prominent earthwork of uncertain date, most clearly visible on the west of the summit. No pottery was visible on the surface.

8. The mound at Chauchitza (Causiça) mentioned above II. B (4), which was perhaps in Roman times, a cemetery only of a presumed site on a spur of the foothills further north.

The Roman road running south-west from Avret-Hissar, approximately in the direction of site No. 2 at Vardarovci, forms a conspicuous ridge in the plain. It can be traced with more difficulty for a short distance up the Zensko valley, but subsequently disappears.

W. COOKSEY, C.F.

A. M. WOODWARD.

NOTE.

Besides the mounds above referred to by Mr. Woodward there are prehistoric mounds at the following places :—

AKBUNAR.—A small mound more of a conical than a flat-topped shape is situated about two kilometres south-east of the village near the small Roman cemetery discovered here in 1918. I carried out a small excavation in the side of this mound in the summer of 1918 and

found several fragments of good painted sub-Mycenean wares and several bone implements, but was not able to establish any satisfactory stratification. (See Plate IV. 12-18, and p. 31.)

BEROVO.—In the valley of the Langaza below the village of Berovo at a point opposite the forty-first kilometre stone on the Salonika-Serres road. (Fig. 3.) I was not able to examine this mound in detail, but it appeared to be of type B.

DRIMIGLAVA.—The large mound upon which the northern part of this village is built is entirely prehistoric and rich in fragments of every kind of undecorated prehistoric ware.

GNOINA.—Just west of the Chiftlik of Gnoina is a long flat-topped mound of type B. The usual prehistoric burnished wares were to be found on it in large quantities, but a fairly extensive Hellenic stratum covered the top of the mound. (Fig. 3.)

GUVEZNE.—In the valley of the Guvezne Dere about three kilometres north of the village is a large mound of type B. The usual prehistoric burnished and incised wares were common, but I was not able to find anything Hellenic.

KOPATSI (Struma valley).—There is a very large prehistoric mound of type B north of the village. Adjoining it to the south is an Hellenic site. The usual types of undecorated prehistoric wares are common on the surface.

KILOMETRE STONE 34 on the Salonika-Serres road.—There is a flat-topped prehistoric mound just east of this point with a small church built upon the top. I was not able to examine this site in detail.

TUMBA (on Lake Langaza).—A flat-topped prehistoric mound of type B. I was not able to examine this mound in detail.

YENI-KEUI (near Gnoina).—Near the small hamlet of Yeni-Keui is a very well preserved flat-topped mound of type B situated on a rocky scarp on the edge of the ravine of the Kuru Dere. Prehistoric and Hellenic wares have been found on the surface.

The following classical burial mounds of type A are additional to those given above by Mr. Woodward :—

MEKES.—About a kilometre west of this village are two small conical mounds. No pottery has been found at either.

DRAGOS.—Just to the west of this village there are two small conical mounds similar to those at Mekes.

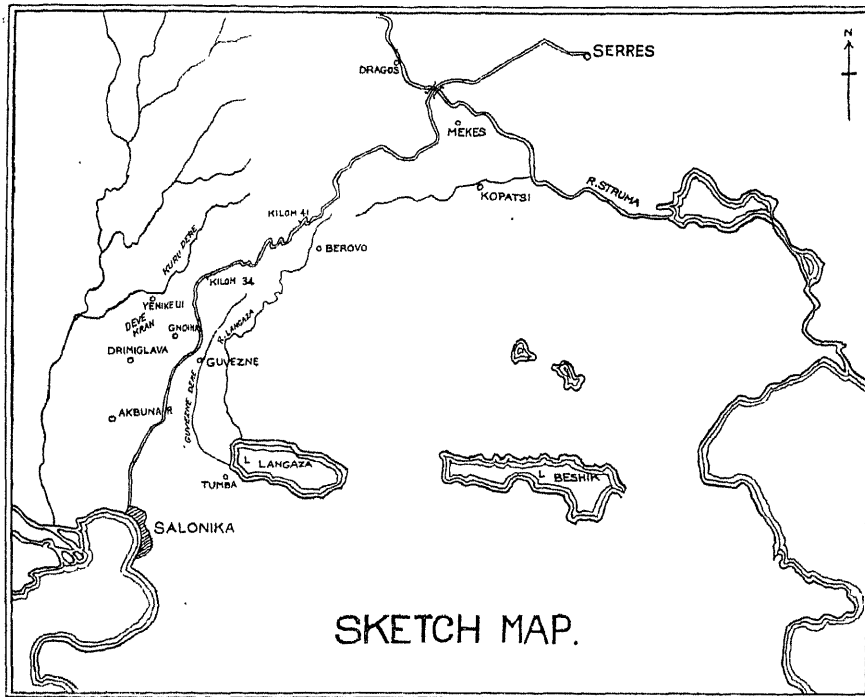


FIG. 3.—SKETCH MAP OF THE AREA BETWEEN SALONIKA AND THE STRUMA.
(Scale, *ca.* 1 : 900,000.)

The mounds at Gnoina, Guvezne, Drimiglava, Tumba, and Yeni-Keui belong to the Langaza valley group and are situated on the important prehistoric route followed by the Via Egnatia. The mound at Yeni-Keui commands the defile where a northern branch of this route leads round Deve Kran to the plains of the lower Vardar.

The mound at Akbunar belongs to the Salonika littoral group.

The mound at Kopatsi in the Struma Valley is the only example of a prehistoric site in the upper half of this valley and seems to lie upon a

prehistoric route running between the Langaza and Struma valleys giving a shorter and quicker line of communication than the route that follows the line of Lakes Langaza, Beshik and the coast. The mounds at kilometre stone 34 and at Berovo seem to give the general line of this shorter route which ran up the Guvezne Dere or the Langaza valley, and thence over a ridge near Berovo to the head of the Kopatsi Dere and so to the Struma valley.

S. CASSON.

MACEDONIA.

V.—ANCIENT SITES IN THE STRYMON VALLEY.

(PLATE I.

I HERE describe a few sites on the south side of the valley of the Strymon, which I noticed while stationed there in 1916-1918. All except No. 5 belong to the third type described by Wace and Thompson¹ and consist of large, low flat-topped mounds covered with Hellenistic sherds. This part of the country was anciently inhabited by the Bisaltai.

1. At kilometre 70 on the Salonika-Serres road,² about three kilometres south-west of Sakavcha, and two-and-a-half kilometres west of Makesh. Round the edges the remains of ancient walls can be easily traced; in places they are still three feet high and the same thickness with small towers at irregular intervals. Remains of house walls can be found everywhere a few feet down. At one point were the remains of a small Byzantine church which was used during the war as a quarry for road material and has now practically vanished. At another place are the remains of a large rectangular stone building under which are other foundations of an earlier period. Local tradition says this is the market place and that there was a second church adjoining it and a third one near a big fig-tree on the east wall. No inscriptions are now to be seen on the site, but at Makesh church is a large Greek inscription now³ published, which was removed thither from this site by the father of the

¹ *B.S.A.* xx. pp. 123 ff.

² See pp. 33 f.

³ See Mr. Tod's paper above, p. 91., No. 17.

present priest. Enormous quantities of Byzantine coins are picked up here after rain. This mound was noticed by Cousinery.¹

2. About one kilometre south-west of Kopachi a similar large site can be seen on the sides of a low hill. On the summit is an old church. The same coins and pottery are found here as on the first site.

3. Up the Ilidja valley, about two kilometres above the village, is a site whence many coins are said to come, and in the hills round are many heaps of slag from old workings. This may be the site of Berga, which Kiepert places at Nigrita, three kilometres to the north, where there are no ancient remains.²

4. Near the monastery, three kilometres south of Aedonochori, is a very large site. Tombs are said to be found all the way along the road from here to Kastri. Those near Kastri have produced many gold ornaments which were sold to dealers in Serres; those near Aedonochori were poorer. Several inscriptions have been published from here.³

It is to be noticed that none of these sites are in the plain like the present villages, but further back in the hills. The only trace of a village in the plain which I could find was a short way from Suhabanja, where there is a small site on a low neck of ground stretching into the marsh. It is probably only a fishing village. This may show that the marsh extended right up to the hills at an earlier date. This disposition of sites may point to the marsh having been more extensive in Hellenistic times.

The only earlier site I noticed was a Neolithic one just west of No. 2, where a small low spur runs out into the Kopachi valley towards the stream and is joined to the higher hill on which is situated No. 2 by a low neck of land. The sides of this spur are covered with fragments of Neolithic ware, most of which is hand-polished black or brown ware with small lugs, horizontal or perpendicular, and no paint at all, but there are a few fragments of black ware roughly polished and incised with simple geometric designs, such as triangles, and one or two pieces were filled with white. I saw no painted ware. One celt was found with a groove parallel to the length ready for sawing through into two smaller chisel celts.

No doubt there are other sites, especially Neolithic ones, but the above

¹ *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, p. 145.

² Mr. Casson suggests that the large site at the 70th kilometre stone on the Salonika-Serres road may be identified with Berga. See p. 32 f.

³ See p. 34.

are just the few one could not help noticing during one's daily work. For instance, with glasses one could plainly see a large mound at the Tumbitsa farm, of notorious fame, seven kilometres south-east of Serres, and another at Tumba village, three kilometres south-south-east of Sarmushakli (the names show as much), while there is a large mound on the west side of Doksambo village, on Lake Tahinos, called Yilan Kalessi. As these were in the Bulgarian lines then, it was not possible to visit them. Incidentally the large flat mounds of Type III. are called *Pashalis* by the natives, and are said to have been formed by great Pashas long ago when the land was full of bad men.

One other site may be included here; just West of Kavalla, at the spot called Kalamitsa, is an Hellenistic town on a low cape which runs into the sea. It has been surrounded by a wall about three feet thick, faced inside and out with large polygonal blocks, often four feet or more across. Of these the lower courses remain in great part, especially on the side towards the sea. At the furthest point seaward there is a large gateway, with remains of a tower on one side overhanging the sea, and a fine supporting wall. The site would seem to be that of one of the Thasian 'factories' in their *Περαία*, perhaps Antisara.

F. B. WELCH.

MACEDONIA.

VI.—INSCRIPTIONS.

(PLATE XIII.)

THE following article owes its existence rather to the kindness of others than to any epigraphical work of my own during the period of my military service in Macedonia, and it is a pleasant duty to begin by acknowledging the courtesy and generosity with which Lieut. Commander E. A. Gardner, R.N.V.R., Captain S. Casson, General Staff, and Lieut. A. M. Woodward, Intelligence Corps,¹ have handed over to me for publication their epigraphical materials. The extent of my indebtedness to these officers severally will be indicated below in connexion with the individual inscriptions: here I offer them a brief, but none the less sincere, assurance of my gratitude.

Unhappily the volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* which is to contain the inscriptions of Macedonia, together with those of Epirus, Thrace and Scythia, is not yet even in preparation, and many years must still elapse before its publication. Meanwhile the only attempt made since the *C.I.G.* to collect all the Macedonian inscriptions is that of Prof. M. G. Demitsas,² whose work, though marred by countless inaccuracies and superseded in its Thasian section by *I.G.* xii. 8, is nevertheless of considerable value as a praiseworthy effort to gather all the epigraphical texts known at the time of its publication. The inscriptions found in modern Bulgaria are best studied in E. Kalinka, *Schriften der Balkankommission. Antiquarische Abteilung*, IV. *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien*, Vienna, 1906, to

¹ Hereinafter referred to as E. A. G., S. C., and A. M. W. respectively.

² *Ἡ Μακεδονία*, i. Athens, 1896. I refer to it as 'Dem.', the numbers being those of the inscriptions, not of the pages, of this work.

which I refer as Kalinka *A.D.B.* Tomaschek's papers on *Die alten Thraker*, ii. 1, 2, important for the Thracian local, divine and personal names, appeared in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy (cxxx. 2 and cxxxi. 1).

Nos. 1-6. A group of six tombstones found early in 1916 in the bed of a stream below Ambelia, a vineyard area lying about a quarter of a mile S.W. of the village of Kapudjilar (*Καπουτζήδες*), some three miles E. of Salonika. All are massive square cippi of local marble: for similar tomb-monuments at Beroea see a note by A. J. B. W(ace) in *B.S.A.* xviii. 152. On one (No. 2) is a relief in very poor style representing a horseman on a rearing horse to r. towards a tree with a snake wound round it and and the front of a boar (?) projecting from below the tree. The remaining cippi were without sculptured reliefs, but had mouldings above and below and in most cases pediment-tops with acroteria and rosettes, the inscriptions being engraved on sunk panels on the faces of the stones. The top of No. 5 has a hollow, that of No. 6 an excrescence, probably for the reception of offerings or the performance of rites such as those of the *rosalia*.¹ The stones must have been carried off from a cemetery and used as the foundation of some structure, probably a bridge, in the place where they were discovered by British troops in search of stones for road-making. A short account of No. 1, with a very defective text of the inscription, appeared in the *Νέα Ἀλήθεια* of February 2nd, 1916: on the following day I contributed to the same paper a corrected version and on February 24th to the *Μακεδονία* some emendations of the inscriptions as published in that journal by C. G. Gougousis a few days previously. The stones were examined by A. M. W. shortly after their discovery and by E. A. G. and myself on February 6th, when we found three of them (Nos. 1-3) outside the village schoolhouse, and the rest still at the spot where they had been unearthed. In addition to my own copies I have before me those of E. A. G. (Nos. 1-6) and A. M. W. (Nos. 1-4).

1. On a marble cippus, 47 in. high, 18½ in. broad. At the top a pediment with acroteria and rosette. The inscription is engraved in a sunk panel.

¹ See P. Perdrizet, *B.C.H.* xxiv. 299 ff., G. Mendel, *ib.* 404 f.

ΛΩΛΩ	Μωμώ
ΣΥΦΟΡΩ	Συφόρω
ΤΟCΥΝΒΙΩ	τ(ῶ) συνβίω
ΛΝΕΙΑCΧΑΡΙΝ	μνείας χάριν.

Μωμώ is found in Dem. 687, 819, 821, 862, *Mél. arch. hist.* 1912, 350, and possibly also in Dem. 263, 463: Dem. 813 presents the curious variant Μωμωζλί. In l. 2 we may (with E. A. G. and A. M. W.) read (Ε)υφόρω: I prefer to read Συφόρω (= Συμφόρω) and to suppose that the μ has been omitted, either accidentally or on purpose¹: cf. σνφέρουσι in *B.M. Inscr.* 477. Σύμφορος recurs in Dem. 57, 194, 374: in Dem. 1083 (= 1102), a Latin epitaph from Chataldja, both copies give SYMPIORVS, which should probably be read Symphorus.² In l. 3 the engraver, probably with a badly written copy before him, wrote C O instead of ω.

2. On a grave-cippus, 46 in. high, 19 in. broad beneath the panel The inscription is on a sunk panel below the relief (see above).

ΔΟΥΛΗ ΗΡΩΕ	Δούλη Ἡρώ-
ΔΗΤΩΤΕΚΝΩ	δη τῶ τέκνω
ΛΝΗΛΗCΧΑΡΙΝ	μνήμης χάριν.

The sign following ω in line 1 is purely decorative, and is not a letter. The name Ἡρώδης recurs in Nos. 4 and 7: otherwise I do not know of its use in Macedonia, though it is found in the neighbouring island of Thasos (*I.G.* xii. 8, 298, 354, 355, 379, 386, etc.) and at Philippopolis (Kalinka *A.D.B.* 96). Δούλη may be a proper name formed from a common noun (cf. Ἄγγελος, Ἀνθρωπος, Ἀρχων, Πολίτης, etc.), or it may be of Thracian or Macedonian derivation. The name Δύρ. Δούλης, possibly the masculine of Δούλη, occurs in Dem. 411 and is frequent in the Latin form Dules.³ Cf. the divine names Ἰαμβαδούλης and Ἀσδοούλης (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* xxvi. 255 ff.), Δουλαρίων (*B.C.H.* xxv. 318), Δουλήζελμης (*I.G.* ii. 963), Δόλης (Kalinka *A.D.B.* 34, 176), and similar names discussed by W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, ii. 2, p. 34.

¹ See E. Mayser, *Gramm. d. griech. Papyri*, 190. 'Es ist dies die orthographische Wiedergabe des gehörten Lautes der Volkssprache.'

² He is described as VIVIRAIC (Dem. 1083) or VI. VIR. AIG (Dem. 102), which should not be read, with Demitsas, 'vi(xit) vir aug(ustus),' but sexvir Aug(ustalis). For the seviri Augustales see Neumann's art. *Augustales* in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 2349 ff.

³ *E.g.* *A.-E.M.* xvii. 201, No. 75.

3. On a grave-cippus, 50 in high, 21 in. broad in the middle. The inscription, with the exception of the first line, is engraved on a sunk panel.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΑΔΙΟΚΚΟΥ	'Αρτεμιδώρα Διοσκου-
ΡΙΔΗΤΩΙΕΡΕΙ	ρίδῃ τῷ ἱερεῖ
ΚΑΙΣΥΝΒΙΩΕΘ	καὶ συνβίῳ ἐ-
ΚΝΩΝΕΚΙΝΟΥΕ	κ (τ)ῶν ἐκείνου ἐ-
ΚΙΝΩΜΕΙΑΣΘ	5 κείνῳ μνείας
ΧΑΡΙΝ	χάριν
ΣΥΝΒΙΩΣΑΝΤΙ	συνβιώσαντί
ΜΟΙΕΤΗ ΙΓΘ	μοι ἔτη ιΓ'
ΜΗΝΑΣΘ	μῆνας γ'.

The names 'Αρτεμίδωρος and 'Αρτεμιδώρα are very common in Macedonia and Thrace, as are also 'Αρτεμης, 'Αρτεμᾶς, 'Αρτεμίσιος, etc. (see e.g. Dem. Index).¹ Διοσκουρίδης also occurs very frequently, but has no feminine form (Dem. Index, No. 17 (below), *B.C.H.* xxxvii. 108, 'Αθηνᾶ, xviii. 36, 'Αρχ. Δελτ. ii. 148, etc. Cf. P. Perdrizet, *Cultes et Mythes*, 83).² For τῷ ἱερεῖ (l. 2) and ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου ἐκείνῳ (l. 3), cf. No. 4 and comment. The length of married life, here sixteen years and three months, is occasionally noted in Macedonian (Dem. 165, 180, 457, 478? 710, *B.C.H.* xxxvii. 115) and Thracian inscriptions (*B.C.H.* xxxvi. 637, *A.-E.M.* xvii. 91, 190, Kalinka *A.D.B.* 345), though the term *συνβιώσας*, common elsewhere, does not seem to recur in any other inscription of this region. Cf. A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftenkunde*, 210 f.

4. On a grave-cippus.

ΚΛΑΔΙΑΝΩ	Κλαδιανῷ
ΙΕΡΙΕΚΤΩΝ	ἱερὶ ἐκ τῶν
ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ·Ε	ἐκείνου ἐ-
ΚΙΝΩ·ΠΡΟ	κίνῳ προ-
ΝΟΟΥΝΤΟΣ	5 νοοῦντος
ΗΡΩΔΟΥΚΕ	'Ηρώδου κέ
ΖΙΠΑΝΟΣ	Ζιπᾶνος
ΛΝΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ	μνίας χάριν.

¹ For the cult of Artemis in Macedonia see W. Baege, *De Macedonum sacris*, 49 ff.; for Thrace, cf. W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, ii. 1. 46.

² For the Macedonian Dioscuri cult see Baege, *op. cit.* ix, 199 ff.

Κλαδιανῷ probably stands for Κλαυδιανῷ, which is found at Salonika (Dem. 473?), Edessa (Dem. 11), Serrae (Dem. 825), Melnik (F. Cumont, *Musées Royaux du Cinquantième: Cat. des Sculpt. et Inscr.* No. 52) Voden (*B.C.H.* xxv. 322) and Aenos? (*Ath. Mitt.* xxxviii. 62 = *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xiv. 388): the spelling, which is probably deliberate, is paralleled by the frequent omission of the *υ* in αὐτός, ἑαυτοῦ, etc.¹ Cf. Ἀγούστης in Kalinka *A.D.B.* 64. What priesthood was held by Claudianus we cannot determine: it may well have been the same as that held by Dioscurides (No. 3). The phrase ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου ἐκείνῳ is found in No. 3 and in Dem. 29, 179, 499: the shorter form ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου is used in Dem. 181, 475, 529, *Jahresh.* vi. Beiblatt, 6, *B.C.H.* xxxvii. 108, *Mél. arch. hist.* 1912, 339, and ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης, *ibid.* 338. In these cases the cost of the monument has been defrayed out of the estate of the person commemorated. The parallel phrase ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτῷ is found in Dem. 80, ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς in Dem. 463. Cf. ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τοῖς ἰδίοις (Dem. 39).

For the name Ἡρώδης see No. 2 and comment. Ζ(ε)ίπας is one of the commonest Thracian names; for it and its cognates Ζειποίτης, Zipacanthus, etc., see W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, ii. 2. 39 f. The usual form of the genitive is Ζ(ε)ίπα (*e.g.* Dem. 1104, *B.C.H.* xxiv. 317), in Latin Zipae (Dem. 1056), and of the accusative Ζ(ε)ίπαν (Dem. 212). With Ζιπᾶνος which I have not found elsewhere, we may compare Ἀρτεμᾶνει from Ἀρτεμᾶς in No. 8 and Ἑρμᾶνι from Ἑρμᾶς in *B.C.H.* xxxvii. 112. A genitive in -ᾶδος is occasionally found in place of that in -α: cf. Διζᾶδος (*B.C.H.* xxi. 129; *I.G.* xii. 8. 479, 539), Ἀππᾶδος (V. Pârvan, *Analele Academiei Române (Mem. sect. istorice)*, xxxiv. 8. p. 39), Ἀπολλᾶδος (*B.M. Inscr.* 477).²

Μνίας for μνείας is very common, *e.g.* Dem. 14, 43, 476, 478, 514, *B.S.A.* xviii. 153, etc.

5. On a grave-cippus: the back is plain, but at the top of the sides are pediments with acroteria. In the top of the cippus is a hollow, probably for the reception of offerings.

CEIBANOCTHEI
ΔΕΙΑΛΗΤΡΙΚΕ
ΙΕΡΕΙΑΛΝΕΙΑC
ΧΑΡΕΙΝ

Σειλβανὸς τῇ εἰ-
δείᾳ μητρὶ καὶ
ἱερείᾳ μνείας
χάρειν.

¹ See E. Mayser, *Grammatik d. griech. Papyri*, 114 f.

² See A. Thumb, *Die griech. Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, 231 ff. E. Mayser *Grammatik d. griech. Papyri*, 252 f.

Silvanus (Silbanus) is found as a divine name in two Latin inscriptions from the sanctuary of Silvanus, near the theatre at Philippi: I do not know of its appearance as a human name elsewhere in Macedonia¹ except in Dem. 216 (Σιλουανοῦ),² unless my conjecture is correct (see No. 9 note) that in Dem. 234, l. 49, Σιλου(α)νοῦ should be read for Σιλουνοῦ. The name occurs in a Latin epitaph from Baltchik, now at Sofia (Kalinka *A.D.B.* 385). With the phrase *μητρὶ καὶ ἱερείᾳ*, cf. *B.C.H.* xxxvii. 102, *τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα τὴν καὶ ἱέρειαν*.

6. On a grave-cippus. The acroteria and rosette are represented above, but not the pediment. From the middle of the top surface rises the lower part of a cone, probably connected with funeral rites.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ	Αὐρήλιος
ΜΕΣΤΡΙΑΝΟ	Μεστριανὸ-
ΕΚΑΙΑΥΡΗΛΙ	ς καὶ Αὐρηλί-
ΑΑΡΤΕΜΙΑ	α 'Αρτεμι(δ)-
ΩΡΑΤΩΙΔΙΩ	5 ὥρα τῇ ἰδίᾳ
ΤΕΚΝΩΠΟ	τέκνῳ Πο-
ΛΥΝΙΚΩΜΝΕΙ	λυνίκῳ μνεί-
ΑΕΧΑΡΙΝ	ας χάριν.

I know of no other example of *Μεστριανός* in Macedonia, though an *Αὐρ. Μεστρια[νός]* appears as dedicator of an altar in the Sofia Museum (Kalinka *A.D.B.* 184). *Μέστριος*, Mestrius (Dem. Index, *B.S.A.* xviii. 169, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xx. 70), and *Μεστρία*, Mestria (Dem. Index, *B.C.H.* xxiii. 341 = *Ἀθηνᾶ*, xii. 90, *Jahresh.* vi. Beiblatt, 3), are, however, common in this region, and *Μεστρινός* (?) occurs in the last-cited inscription, which gives a revised version of Dem. 308.

7. On a slab of local marble, 35 in. × 25 in., complete except for the lower part of the left-hand edge, with a low moulding all round enclosing a panel, on which the text is engraved. It is broken in two, the line of fracture running vertically down the stone near its centre. See Pl. XIII. 1 (from a photograph taken by the photographic service of the R.A.F.).

¹ Cl. Flavia Silvana occurs in an inscription of Salonika known to me only through *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xx. 70.

² So we must read and not *Συλουανοῦ* (see *B.S.A.* xviii. 185, No. 34).

Found early in 1916 by the 8th Battalion of the Royal Scottish Fusiliers while entrenching to the south of the Salonika-Serres road where it debouches from the Dervend Pass, between the villages of Aivatli and Laina. Now in the B.S.F. Archaeological Museum.

- Ἡ πόλις
Μάνιον Σαλάρι-
ον Σαβεῖνον, τὸν
γυμνασάρχον
- 5 καὶ εὐεργέτην, ἔν τε σπεινδεΐαις
πλειστάκις παραπεπρακότα πολὺ
τῆς οὔσης τειμῆς εὐωνότερον, καὶ ταῖς
τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος τῶν στρατευ-
μάτων διοδεΐαις παρασχόντα εἰς τὰς
- 10 ἀννώνας σείτου μεδ. υ', κριθῶν μεδ. ρ',
κυάμου μεδ. ξ', οἴνου μετρητὰς ρ' πολὺ τῆς
οὔσης τειμῆς εὐωνότερον, καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ γυ-
μνασίου ἐπισκευὴν δόντα δην. τό, καὶ
ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἐπιδόματα δόντα τοῖς
- 15 τρικλείνοις βουλευτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πολι-
ταρχίας καὶ πολείταις τοῖς συνεστιαζο-
μένοις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς χρέαις ταῖς
εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐχρηστον πολλάκι γενόμενον,
διὰ ἐπιμελητῶν Περεῖτα τοῦ Φίλας τοῦ
- 20 καὶ Βιησίου καὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Βεΐθνος.
Ἔτους θξς'.

The photographic reproduction (Pl. XIII. 1) makes it needless to speak in detail of the character of the letters. Ligature occurs in 32 cases, but is confined to ll. 5-13, 18. Τρητ are ligatured in l. 11, μης in ll. 7, 12, την in ll. 5, 12, 18, της in l. 7: the remaining examples are of two-letter ligatures. In the ligatures λε (l. 6) and δε (l. 9) the lunar ε is used in place of E. The letters of ll. 1-4 and the word Καίσαρος (l. 8) are considerably larger than the rest. The text is characterized by the frequency of the marks of punctuation, which occur after most of the words except at the end of a line: cf. the punctuation of No. 10 (below), *Ath. Mitt.* xxvii. 305, xxxvi. 279, though in this latter case it is used only

to mark the ends of lines of poetry. Every line ends with the close of a word or syllable.

A short and popular account of the inscription appeared in the *Balkan News* of April 10th, 1916, and a translation of it in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 24th of the same month.

L. I. Ἡ πόλις cannot well refer to Thessalonica. The inscription was found, as stated, some 11 km. from Salonika, nor are the services commemorated (e.g. the gift of 370 denarii for the repair of the gymnasium, l. 12) on the scale we should expect to find in so important and wealthy a city. Ever since the discovery in or near the village of Aivatli (Αἰβάτι) of the famous decree of Lete¹ (Dem. 675, Dittenb. *Syll.*² 318, *Syll.*³ 700) and other inscriptions (Dem. 676-680), it has been regarded as certain that the site of the ancient Lete is to be sought at or close to this village.² We need have no hesitation in assigning the present text to the same city: the find-spot makes the attribution practically certain and there is nothing in the contents of the document to raise any doubt.

The literary evidence for Lete has been recently collected and examined by J. Svoronos, *Journ. intern. arch. num.* xv. 213 ff. For its coinage, which begins before 500 B.C. and is surprisingly plentiful, see *B.M. Coins: Macedonia*, 76 ff., Head, *H.N.*² 197 f., Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, P. Gardner, *History of Greek Coinage*, 188 f. The prosperity and importance of the Ἀηταῖοι must have been due in part to the possession of the extensive and fertile plain of Langaza, in part to their strategic position commanding the Dervend Pass into the plain of Therma (cf. *B.M. Coins: Macedonia*, xviii). The epigraphical evidence consists of the above-cited inscriptions with the addition of our present text. Of these Dem. 678, dated 'in the year 170,' is the dedication of a πύλων to the gods and to the city by three ex-agoranomi and records the name of the secretary in office and that of the architect, who is expressly described as Ἀηταῖος. The contents of Dem. 675 are too familiar to require summarizing: it is dated 'the 20th of Panemus, in the year 29,'

¹ Now in the Constantinople Museum.

² Demitsas (commentary on 675) maintains that Leake located Lete at Aivatli: but the passage to which he refers (*Travels in Northern Greece*, iii. 450) does not refer to Lete at all, and Leake expressly places it at Mavrovo or at Sokhó (Suho), *op. cit.* iii. 462. See p. 35 above for the site of Lete.

i.e. in July 119 or 117 B.C.¹ according as we accept the year 148 or 146 B.C. as the beginning of the Macedonian era,² and shows us Lete as a πόλις with its βουλή and its δῆμος, its πολιτάρχαι and its ταμίας τῆς πόλεως, its ἀγορά and its yearly ἀγῶνες. To this picture the remaining texts add nothing with the exception of our present inscription, which proves the existence of a Letean gymnasium and gives us a glimpse of the activities and benefactions of one of its leading citizens in the first quarter of the second century of our era (see below, note on l. 21).

L. 2 f. Manius Salaris Sabinus is not known from any other source. The *praenomen* Manius occurs rarely in Macedonia (Dem. 782, 1055) and the *nomen* Salaris is unknown to me except in two Latin inscriptions of Italy, Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 6383 (M' Salaris Crocus) and 5243 (C. Salaris Capito). Sabinus and Sabina, however, are common *cognomina* both in Greek and in Latin inscriptions of Macedonia (see Dem. Indexes and add Dem. 9, *Bys. Zeits.* xvii. 339) and the Danube Provinces: possibly it was popularised by the long governorship of C. Poppaeus Sabinus (*Prosop. Imp. Rom.* iii. 86, No. 627), who was *legatus pro praetore* of Lower Moesia (to which Achaea and Macedonia were added in 15 A.D.) from 12 A.D. to his death in 35 A.D.

L. 4. For the γυμνασιάρχια see J. Oehler's articles γυμνασίαρχος and Gymnasium in Pauly-Wissowa vii. 1969 ff., 2004 ff. and Bibliography. In his excellent conspectus (1970 ff., 2005 ff.) Oehler states the evidence for Thessalonica (Dem. 364, 372, etc.), Heraclea (Dem. 248 = *B.C.H.* xxi. 161 ff.), Serrae (Dem. 811 = *C.I.G.* 2007), and Amphipolis (*Jahresh.* i. 180 ff.). He assigns to Beroea or Keletron the inscription Dem. 53 (= Dem. 216: revised text in *B.S.A.* xviii. 185, No. 34) whose provenance is a serious problem, but overlooks the evidence of Dem. 51 (to which we may now add Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, ii. 148) for Beroea and does not allude to Dem. 307, found at Demir Kapu.

L. 5 ff. The words ἔνδεια and σιτόδεια are common, but I cannot trace σιτένδεια elsewhere. The patriotic action of citizens in time of famine is frequently recorded in inscriptions: *e.g.* *I.G.* xii. 2. 645, l. 17 ff. (Nesus) [ἐγένετ]ο δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰν σιτόδειαν ἄνη[ρ ἄγαθος] καὶ παρ τῶν σαδράπαν εἰσαγωγή[ν σίτω κα]τεσκεύασσε, Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 194, l. 13 ff.

¹ Demitsas (p. 573) dates it 117 A.D. ! In Ditt. *Syll.*³ 700 the later date is retained, but O. Cuntz argues in favour of July 119 (*Hermes*, liii. 102 ff.).

² See p. 206 ff.

(Egyptian Thebes) παρέσχευεν εὐ[ωνίας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καταλαβ]ούσης δὲ τὴν οὖσαν σιτόδειαν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει σκληροτέρας κτλ., *ibid.* 566, l. 12 ff. (Termessus) παρασχόμ[εν]όν τε καὶ ἐν τῇ σειτοδείᾳ ἐξῆς τ[ὰ π]άντα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοῖς πολ[ί]ταις εἰς εὐτηρίαν, Dittenb. *Syll.*² 226 (= *Syll.*³ 495) l. 23 ff. (Olbia) ἐπὶ τε Ἡροδώρου ἱέρεω σιτοδείας οὖσης καὶ πωλουμένου τοῦ σίτου εἰς πέντε (sc. 5 medimni for an aureus), καὶ διὰ τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον οἰομένου δεῖν τοῦ δήμου παραθέσθαι σίτον ἱκανόν, καὶ εἰς ταῦτα παρακαλοῦντος τοὺς ἔχοντας, πρῶτος παρελθὼν ἐπηγγείλατο μεδίμνους δισχιλίους εἰς δέκα κτλ., l. 58 ff. πάλιν τ' ἐπὶ Πλειστάρχο(ν) ἱέρεω σιτοδείας γενομένης ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πωλουμένου τοῦ σίτου εἰς μέδιμνον καὶ δύο τριτεῖς, προδήλου δὲ ὄντος ἔσεσθαι τιμουστέρου, ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο παραντίκα ὁ μέδιμνος χρυσοῦ καὶ δύο τριτῶν (sc. 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ aurei per medimnus) καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διαγωνιάσαντος τοῦ δήμου καὶ οἰομένου δεῖν σιτωνῆσαι, εἰς δὲ ταῦτα χρείας παρασχέσθαι τοὺς εὐπορουμένους, πρῶτος συνελθούσης ἐκκλησίας ἐπηγγείλατο εἰς τὴν σιτωνίαν χρυσοῦς χιλίους κτλ. πρῶτος δ' ἐπηγγείλατο πυρῶν μεδίμνους δισχιλίους πεντακοσίους, ὧν τοὺς πεντακοσίους μὲν ἔδωκεν εἰς τέτταρας καὶ ἑκτέα, τοὺς δὲ δισχιλίους εἰς δύο καὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέκτεα κτλ., *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 796, l. 19 ff. (Perga) [ἐν] τε ταῖς κατασχούσαις σιτο[δεία]ις προχρήσεις δόντα ἀρ[γ]υρίων εἰς ἀγορασμὸν π[υρῶ]ν, Μουσ. κ. Βιβλ. 1876-8, p. 95 (Metropolis in Ionia) πεποιη[μένον] δὲ καὶ [?] ἐν σειτοδείαις παραπράσεις σίτου οὐκ ὀλίγον ὑφαίρ[ουσιν]τα (or -ώμενον) τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τιμῆς[?].¹ For Macedonia two parallels call for notice: Dem. 248 (Heraclea),² of which a better version will be found in *B.C.H.* xxi. 161 ff., ἀργύριον ἐπιδούς τῇ πόλει εἰς σείτου ἀγορασίαν, σείτον ἐν σπάνει³ παραπωλήσας, and Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, ii. 148 (Beroea) ποιησάμενον δὲ κὶ σείτων παραπράσεις κὶ σιτευωνήσαντα⁴ ἐν καιροῖς ἀνανκίους.⁵ For παραπεπρακότα (l. 6) see A. Wilhelm's discussions of παραπιπράσκω, παράπρασις, παραπωλῶ in *A.-E.M.* xx. 75 ff. and *Beiträge z. griech. Inschriftenkunde*, 199 f.; to the examples there collected we may now add παραπεπρακότα in our present inscription and παραπράσεις in Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, ii. 148 (*supra*). Παραπιπράσκω (παραπωλῶ) denotes selling at

¹ Quoted by A. Wilhelm, *A.-E.M.* xx. 76. For other interesting examples see *I.G.* iv. 932, v. 2. 437, 515, ix. 2. 1104: cf. iv. 2.

² Quoted by Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. *I.G.* iii. 687, τροφαῖς αἷς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ σπάνει παρέσχε.

⁴ The word is new, the usual term being σ(ε)ιτωνέω (e.g. *B.S.A.* xviii. 149, Beroea): the formation is easily intelligible, the object of the σιτώνης being to procure σίτον εὖωνον.

⁵ Cf. *B.C.H.* xxxviii. 63, *Rev. Arch.* xix. (1912), 329.

less than cost price or at less than current rates. With the phrase *πολὺ τῆς οὔσης τιμῆς εὐωνότερον* (which recurs in l. 11 ff.) cf. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 548 (Ephesus) *καταλαβὼν τὸν σῖτον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πωλούμενον πλέονος δραχμῶν ἕξ ἐπώλησεν τὸν σῖτον πάντα εὐωνότερον τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πωλουμένου*. For the price of wheat etc. in antiquity cf. Boeckh-Fraenkel, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, i. 97 ff.; for the *σιτωνία* and the provision of cheap or free corn, H. Francotte, *Le pain à bon marché et le pain gratuit dans les cités grecques* in *Mélanges Nicole*, 135 ff.

L. 7 ff. The order of the words *ταῖς τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος τῶν στρατευμάτων διοδοίαις* is curious, as is also the use of the dative without a preposition, meaning 'on the occasion of the passage': it has an exact parallel in an epitaph found at Kara-Alilar in Bithynia (*I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 1412) *ἀννωναρχήσα[ς] λεγιῶσι α' καὶ β' διόδοις [ἐπὶ] Πέρσας*. Τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος must refer to Trajan or to Hadrian: possibly the phrase is kept purposely vague in order to cover both Emperors. Tiberius and Livia are referred to as οἱ κύριοι Σεβαστοί in *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 1086, Domitian and Domitia as οἱ κύριοι Αὐτοκράτορες, *ib.* 1094. 'Ο κύριος is applied to Trajan (*op. cit.* i. 1254, 1267) and to Hadrian (*ib.* 1256, iii. 739 iv.): later, especially from the time of Septimius Severus, it becomes common, with or without the addition of *ἡμῶν*.¹

The imperial forces are termed *στρατεύματα*, often with the epithet *ιερά* (e.g. Dem. 371: see *op. cit.* i. Index, p. 605). The word *διόδεία*, a variant of *δίοδος*, is a very rare one: cf. *Thesaurus*, s.v. *Transitus*. 'Suid.: Δ., ἡ διέλευσις. Artemidor. p. 18, WAKEF. *Διοδεία* avium, ut puto, Aristot. Eth. Eudem, p. 18, 16. HEMST.' The word is chosen to denote the passage of troops along the road which led over the Dervend Pass, whether actually on campaign or not: cf. the statement of the *Σκαπτοπαριηνοί* at a later period (Ditt. *Syll.*² 418, *Syll.*³ 888, Dem. 829, l. 30) *στρατιῶται ἀλλαχοῦ πεμπόμενοι καταλιμπάνοντες τὰς ἰδίας ὁδοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγείνονται*. Services rendered to imperial troops are recorded in several inscriptions, e.g. *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 173 *ἀποδεξάμεν[ό]ν τε στρατεύματα τὰ παραχειμήσαντα ἐν τῇ πόλει (Ancyra) καὶ προπέμφαντα [τὰ] παροδεύοντα ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πά[ρ]θους πόλεμον (114/5 A.D.), ib. 66 παρ[απ]έμψαντα τοὺς μεγίστους καὶ θειοτάτους αὐτοκράτορας* (Septimius Severus and Caracalla,

¹ It is uncertain what Emperor is referred to in the phrase *[π]ρεσβεύσαντα [πρὸς] τὸν κύριον [Αὐτ]οκράτορα* in an inscription of Achris (Dem. 330).

198–211 A.D.) καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν στρατεύματα, *ib.* 1421, παραπέμφαντα τὰ ἱερὰ στρατεύματα πολλάκις.¹ For ἀνώνας (l. 10) see the articles, *s.v.* Annona in Dar.-Sagl. i. 273 ff. (G. Humbert), Pauly-Wissowa, i. 2316 ff. (J. Oehler), E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane* and G. N. Olcott, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Epigraphicae*.² I do not know another example of the use of the word in the plural, which may be due either to the various occasions on which the grant was made or to the various sections of the Roman commissariat service. Here it apparently denotes merely ‘supplies,’ for the *annona militaris* (Oehler 2320 f., Humbert 279, de Ruggiero *s.v.*), the supplies in kind levied as part of the provincial dues and employed for the maintenance of the troops and officials of the province, would be rendered as a duty and not for payment—unless, indeed, the meaning is that Lete was enabled by Salarius’ generosity to purchase its quota of the *annona militaris* at a rate below that demanded in the open market. The quantities mentioned—400 medimni of wheat, 100 of barley, 60 of beans, and 100 metretae of wine—seem small: the importance of beans among articles of diet in some parts at least of the Greek world is strikingly shown by the Tauromenian accounts (*I.G.* xiv. 423 = Dittenb. *Syll.*² 515).

L. 12 f. Εἰς τὴν τοῦ γυμνασίου ἐπισκευήν. For Greek gymnasia see J. Oehler *op. cit.* Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 2004 ff. (cf. note on l. 4 above). Cf. *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 66 δόντα καὶ εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης δηναρίων μυριάδας πέντε, *C.I.G.* 4015 τὸ τοῦ Πολυεῖδου γυμνάσιον καθηρημένον ἐπισκε[υ]άσαντα, *B.C.H.* xi. 213 τοὺς τε λιθίνους κανκέλλους τοῦ γυμνασίου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατασκευάσαντα καὶ ἐπισκευάσαντα τὸν περὶ αὐτοὺς κόσμον.

L. 14 ff. Honorary inscriptions and decrees frequently mention the provision of public banquets or the distribution of largess on the occasion of festivals among the titles to gratitude of those whom they commemorate, *e.g.* *C.I.G.* 2766 δις ἐστιάσαντα τὸν δῆμον, Ditt. *Syll.*² 420. 31 ff. ἐστιάσαντες ἐν τοῖς Διουσιόις καὶ τοῖς Ἑραίοις πάντας βουλευτὰς καὶ πολίτας, *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 796 πολλάκις τε δόντα [ἐστιάσ]εις πανδήμους το[ῖς] κατ[ο]κοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, *ib.* 407 δειπνήσαντα τοὺς τε

¹ For other examples see *op. cit.* iii. 60, 62, 68, 208.

² Cf. *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 409 πέμφαντα ἀνώναν εἰς τὸ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἔθνος. Ἱερὰ ἀνώναν in another sense occurs *ib.* 407. For the verb ἀνωναρχέω see the Bithynian epitaph quoted above (*ib.* 1412).

πολείτας πάντας κτλ.¹ Such a public banquet was termed *δημοθουσία* e.g., *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 157 *δημοθουσί[ας] δις ἔδωκεν*, *I.G.* xii. 5. 660 *ἐδημοθοί- νησεν πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντα[ς] τὴν νήσον κτλ.*, xii. 7. 515 l. 59 *ἡ δὲ δημοθουσία [γε]νέσθω ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐπάναγκες*, iv. 602. For distributions (*διανομαί*) in money or in kind see *I.G.* v. 1. 1346 *δόντα ἐκάστω γέροντι νομῆς δηνάρια δέκα καὶ τὰς ἐννέα*, *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 409 *[δ]εδοκότα διανομὰς ἔτεσιν πολ[ιτείας] βουλευταῖς τε καὶ ἐκλησιασταῖς [καὶ πᾶ]σι πολεί- ταις*.² In place of *διανομή* we sometimes find *διάδομα*, as in *I.G.* vii. 2712 l. 64 *τὸ ἐπὶ πόλεος διάδομα[α ἰς] τὴν μέλλουσαν ἑορτὴν ἔδωκεν πᾶσι τοῖς πολείταις καὶ παρόκοις καὶ ἐκτημένοις διδόνς κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον κύφινον σείτου καὶ οἴνου ἡμί[ναν]*, l. 80 *κατὰ τρίκλεινον διαδόματα ἔδωκεν [ἐ]νδεκα δ[η]ναρίων καὶ [κε]ρά[μ]ιον οἴνου παλαιοῦ [καὶ] δηνάρια ἕξ ἰς [ἐπ]όψημα*. The word *ἐπίδομα* used in our inscription is a rare one: Athenaeus (viii. 364 F) speaks of *ἐπιδόσιμά τινα δεῖπνα ἅπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσιν ἐξ ἐπιδομάτων*, and the word may here denote additional dinners or additional grants in money or kind to increase the splendour of public banquets.³ For the phrase *τοῖς τρικλείνοις βουλευτῶν κτλ.* compare *I.G.* vii. 2712, l. 80 (*συρτα*), xii. 7. 515, l. 54 *ποιεῖτωσαν οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ πάν[τας] τοὺς κλι]σμούς? κατὰ τρίκλι[νον] κτλ.*, l. 60 ff. *παραθέτωσαν δὲ οἱ ἐπιμε[λητ]αὶ πάντως δεῖπνον ἀδάπανον τοῖς ἐν τῷ τρικλείνῳ καὶ ἄνθη . . . τὰ δ[ὲ] παρ[α]τιθέμενα ἅπαντα ἔστω ἀποφορητὰ [ἀπὸ] τ[ο]ῦ τρικλίνου*, xii. 9. 906 (= Ditt. *Syll.*² 607), l. 10 *τρίκλεινον δειπνιστήριον ποιήσας καὶ θυρώσας εἰς κόσμον τὸν πρέποντα τῇ θεῷ*.

Βουλευτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πολιταρχίας = 'councillors and ex-politarchs.' The Letean *βουλευταί* are mentioned in the decree of Lete ll. 3, 49, the *βουλὴ* in l. 36: if we attribute to Lete the inscriptions found at Dremiglava, the *βουλευτήριον* appears in Dem. 682. The *πολιταρχία* as the chief magistracy of the city is attested for ca. 118 B.C. (Dem. 675, ll. 2, 48) and for Vespasian's reign (Dem. 683).⁴ The Greek *ἀπό*⁵ corresponds to the Latin (and English) *ex* in such phrases as *ἀπὸ δεκαδάρχων* (*ex decurione*), *ἀπὸ ἑκατοντάρχου*, *ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων*: in the present case

¹ Cf. also *I.G.* vii. 190, ll. 11, 17, iv. 597, xii. 5. 647 and Thalheim's article *s.v.* 'Εστίασις in Pauly-Wissowa, viii. 1315.

² See also *ib.* 208, xii. 5. 663. For this whole question the Syran texts *I.G.* xii. 5. 660-5 are interesting.

³ *Ἐπίδοσις* seems to be used in a more general sense in *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 173 *ὑπερβαλόντα ἐπιδόσειν καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς φιλοτιμίαις*. The term *ἐπίδομα* occurs *ib.* 153.

⁴ Assuming the correctness of the restoration and of the attribution to Lete.

⁵ Very rarely *ἐξ*, as in Kalinka *A.D.B.* 96, *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* i. 1481.

the name of the office replaces the title of the holder. The title *πολιτάρχης*, rendered famous by its occurrence in *Acts* xvii. 6, 8, is almost confined to Macedonia. To the evidence collected by A. M. Woodward (*J.H.S.* xxxiii. 341, n. 101) we must add for Thessalonica *Rev. Arch.* xxiv. (1894), p. 213, No. 38, and a text published in *Ἀλήθεια*, October 7th, 1906 (known to me only in the reference *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xx. 70), and for Lete (?) Dem. 683. Outside of Macedonia Woodward notes the existence of politarchs at Panticapaeum,¹ but omits to add Kios in Bithynia (*B.C.H.* xv. 484).² For *συνεστιάζομαι*, which occurs here alone, cf. *συνεστιᾶσθαι* in Ditt. *Syll.*² 430, l. 14, 615, l. 28.

L. 17 f. For similar phrases see G. Gerlach, *Griech. Ehreninschriften*, 60 f., W. Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik*,³ 440 ff.; for *εὐχρηστος* Larfeld, *op. cit.* 365. The phrase *ἐν ταῖς χρεῖαις ταῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν* is not good Greek, and gives an early example of the use of *εἰς* characteristic of Modern Greek. *Πολλάκι* (contrast *πλειστάκις*, l. 6) may be due to carelessness, but the omission of final *ς* in numeral adverbs is well attested even for Ptolemaic times (E. Mayser, *op. cit.* 244 and *reff.*).

L. 19. *Διὰ ἐπιμελητῶν κτλ.* The names of those commissioned to supervise the engraving of an inscription or the erection of a monument are frequently added in this or a similar formula: cf. Dem. 213, 366, 811, and in general G. Gerlach, *Griechische Ehreninschriften*, 84 ff., W. Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik*,³ 446 f., S. Reinach, *Traité d'Épigraphie Grecque*, 376 ff. *Περείτας* (found also *C.I.G.* 2770, 2771, 2834, 3952, etc.) is a Macedonian name (O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, 228), etymologically akin to the Macedonian month-name *Περίτιος* (Hoffmann, *op. cit.* 107, W. Baeye, *De Macedonum sacris*, 221 f.). *Φίλα* (Hoffmann, *op. cit.* 221) is also a well-known name in Macedonia (Dem. 95, 686, 1118; *B.S.A.* xviii. 154, 155). The substitution of the mother's name for that of the father is a very common phenomenon in Macedonian inscriptions (*e.g.* Dem. 1, 72, 364, 821; *B.S.A.* xviii. 171). *Pereitas* bears the alternative name (*supernomen*) *Βιήσιος* (an Athenian archon *Βιήσιος Πείσων* held office in 174/5 A.D. or the following year, *I.G.* iii. 1138: cf. Appian, *Iber.* 47. 2); for the custom of using such *supernomina* or *signa*, found throughout the Greek world but

¹ 'Presumably presidents of the municipality nominated by the crown' (E. II. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 613).

² The inscription on a basis found at Varna was read by its first editor *γυναῖκα δὲ [τοῦ πολ]ιτάρχου [Διον]υσίου* (*A.-E.M.* xvii. 203), but its most recent editor, while admitting the possibility of this restoration, prefers to read *[τοῦ σε]ιτάρχου* (Kalinka *A.D.B.* 99).

not very prevalent in Macedonia (Dem. 77, 364, 386, 400, 439, 466, 480, 481; cf. 888), see M. Lambertz, *Glotta*, iv. 78 ff., v. 99 ff. (for Thrace and the Danube provinces, *ib.* iv. 131 ff.).

For Ἡρώδης see No. 2 and comment. B(ε)ῖθυς is the commonest of all Thracian names (W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, ii. 2. 13 f.), and is found in almost all parts of the Greek world (*e.g.* *I.G.* v. 1. 812, vii. 859, 3519, ix. 1. 36, ix. 2. 206, xi. 4. 1275, etc.); various compounds¹ occur, and also the derivate Βιθύλος (*B. M. Inscr.* 853), but the form Βιθύοσμος given in Dem. 973 is due to an error, since Βιθύοσμος Ἰδωνίφ should obviously be read Βίθυος Ποσιδωνίφ.²

L. 21. Ἐτους θξσ'. The ascending order of the numerals is usual in the dating of Macedonian inscriptions. For the dating of honorary inscriptions, see G. Gerlach, *Griech. Ehreninschriften*, 96 f., W. Larfeld *Griech. Epigraphik*³, 447 ff. The year 269 of the Macedonian era will be 121/2 or 123/4 A.D. according as we date the era from 148/7 or from 146/5 B.C. (see pp. 206 ff.). In either case our inscription falls early in Hadrian's reign (117–138 A.D.).

8. On a fragment of a limestone tombstone found in 1918 near the twelfth kilometre-stone on the Salonika-Serres road and still there. Approximate dimensions: height 1 m.; breadth .5 m.; height of letters .035 m. Copied by S. C.

ΔΕΙΟΝΥΣΙΣ

ΑΡΤΕΜΑΝΕΙ

ΤΩΑΔΕΛΦΩ

ΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑΡΕΝ

Δειονύσις

Ἀρτεμᾶνει

τῷ ἀδελφῷ

μνείας χάρεν.

The names Διονύσιος, Διονυσία, Διονυσόδωρος, etc. are of very frequent occurrence in the Thraco-Macedonian area, where the cult of Dionysus played a very important part (W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, II. 1, p. 41; W. Baege, *De Macedonum sacris*, 77 ff.): see *e.g.* Dem. Index *s.vv.*, Kalinka *A.D.B.* Index *s.vv.*, *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxi. 597, *Mél. arch. hist.* 1900, 227, *B.S.A.* xviii. 152, *B.C.H.* xxxvii. 144, *A.-E.M.* xix. 223).

¹ Βειθύκενθος appears in Kalinka *A.D.B.* but is omitted from the index: for other compounds see Tomaschek, *loc. cit.*

² In *B.S.A.* xviii. 154 Σιδωνίου must be changed to [Πο]σιδωνίου. Ποσ(ε)ιδώνιος is common in this region (see Dem. Index) whereas the name Σιδώνιος is a very rare one and does not occur at all, so far as I know, in Macedonia.

In ll. 1, 2 *ει* is written, as often, for *ι* and *-ις* for *-ιος*. The form *Διούσις* occurs Dem. 786, *B.S.A.* xviii. 172, No. 8, *B.C.H.* xxxvi. 586: cf. *Ίούλις* (Dem. 1, side by side with *Ίούλιος* and *Ειούλιος*), *Εὐμένις* (*B.C.H.* xxxvii. 115), etc.¹

Ἀρτεμᾶναι stands for *Ἀρτεμᾶνι*, dative of *Ἀρτεμᾶς*: for this form of declension cf. *Ζητᾶνος* (No. 4) and note. *Ἀρτεμᾶς* (Dem. 386) is probably a shortened form of *Ἀρτεμίδωρος* (see No. 3 and note), as *Ἀπολλᾶς* (No. 14) of *Ἀπολλόδωρος*, *Ἀσκληπᾶς* (Dem. 1) of *Ἀσκληπιόδωρος*, *Διονυσᾶς* (Dem. 174) of *Διονυσόδωρος*, etc. *Χάρεν* may be an engraver's error for *χάριν* or *χάρειν*, or it may represent some local pronunciation of the word: cf. *Deanae* (Kalinka *A.D.B.* 167, 169), *pugellares* (*ib.* 226), *enfelicis* (*ib.* 399). For the interchange of *ε* and *ι* see E. Mayser, *Grammatik d. griech. Papyri*, 80 ff., *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. Index, p. 683.

9. On a tombstone of limestone found in 1916 S.E. of Laina. It is crowned by an acanthus pattern with a panel below containing a relief of a man, woman and boy: below is a second panel portraying a horse and attendant.² The inscription, very badly weathered, is engraved above the higher panel. Placed in B.S.F. Archaeological Museum, and since given by the Greek Government to the British Museum. Copied by E. A. G. and S. C. Height of letters about 0.35 m.

ΚΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΛΦΙΔΙΟΣ
ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΣ ΚΟΙΝΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΑΣ ΥΙΟΣ

Κ. Ίούλιος Ἀλφίδιος
Σεκούνδος Κοϊντου
καὶ Σεκούνδας υἱός.

K. is abbreviated for K(όιντος), the Latin Quintus, which occurs very commonly in Macedonia as do also the names Σεκούνδος (Secundus) and Σεκούνδα (Secunda): for examples see Dem. Index. An Ἀλφίδιος Ίουλιανός is commemorated in *B.S.A.* xviii. 170, No. 3 (Monastir), a revised version of which is published in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1913, 228. An Ἀλφίδιος Κρίσπου³ and a Γ. Ἀλφίδιος Μαρύαλος⁴ appear in a list

¹ See E. Mayser, *Grammatik. d. griech. Papyri*, 260, A. Thumb, *Die griech. Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, 154 f.

² See Fig. 2, p. 16 above.

³ Dem. Index, p. 1015 s.v. Ἀλφίδιος gives 224 in place of 234.

⁴ Surely, however, Μαρύαλος must be a slip for Μάρυλλος, a name which occurs in l. 53 of the same text.

of φίλοι who unite to honour Γ. Ἀρβειανὸς Σεκοῦνδος (Dem. 234, Monastir).¹

10. On a tombstone of Macedonian marble found in 1916 to the S.E. of Aivasil, bearing in relief portraits of a man and a woman in the Flavian style (Pl. XIII. 2). Placed in the B.S.F. Archaeological Museum, and since given by the Greek government to the British Museum. Copied by E. A. G. and S. C. Height 1·25 m.; breadth ·47 m.; thickness ·19 m. Height of letters ca. ·035 m.

ΑΡΕΣΚΟΥΣΑ

ΖΩΣΑ·ΤΩΛΑΝΔΡΙ

ΕΛΥΤΕ·ΕΚΤΩΝ

ΚΟΙΝΩΝ·ΚΟΠΩΝ

ΜΕΙΛΣ·ΧΑΡΙΝ

Ἀρέσκουσα

ζῶσα τῷ ἀνδρὶ

ἐαυτῆς ἐκ τῶν

κοινῶν κόπων

5 μ(ν)είας χάριν.

For the punctuation between words written in the same line (except τῷ ἀνδρὶ and ἐκ τῶν) cf. No. 7 and note. In l. 3 τῆς are ligatured. A is written consistently without a cross-bar.² The semicircle of the P in ll. 1, 2 is not quite closed. The omission of N in μ(ν)είας is doubtless due to a slip of the engraver.

The name Ἀρέσκουσα recurs at Salonika (*Mél. arch. hist.* 1900, 226, No. 9). The phrase ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν κόπων, also found in No. 18 and in four tomb-inscriptions from Salonika (Dem. 412,³ 419, 426, 462), is occasionally replaced by ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν καμάτων (Dem. 180, 411). The money which defrayed the cost of this monument had been gained by the joint labours of Arescusa and her unnamed husband. For the corresponding phrase ἐκ τῶν ιδίων κόπων see Dem. 143, 417; the simple ἐκ τῶν ιδίων is, however, much commoner.

¹ The inscription contains a number of errors,—whether of engraver, copyist or printer I cannot determine. In l. 10 the *cognomen* COYKΛΕCCOC, which is transcribed Κουκλέκκος, must be Σουκκέσος, a name found also in l. 30. In l. 33 Ἀνθέστιος should probably be Ἀνθέστιος, the Latin Antistius (e.g. *J.G.* v. 1. 281, 756, *C.I.G.* 2078). In l. 39 I conjecture Ἡραγόρου for Ἡρατόρου. A. Wilhelm has recently called attention, in correcting a Pamphylian text published in *B.S.A.* xviii. 233, to the ease with which Γ and Τ can be confused (*Sitzb. Wien*, clxxx. 2. 36), and a further example may be found in Dem. 25, where ΟΙΤΟΝΙΕ, transcribed Οίτονίς, plainly stands for οἱ γονίς (γονεῖς): see also Ἀρχ. Εφ 1913, 228, which corrects to Ἀγροικίῳ the Ἀτροικίῳ of *B.S.A.* xviii. 170. In l. 43 Θνήσιμος should of course be Ὀνήσιμος. In l. 49 Σιλουανὸν looks like a corruption of Σιλουανοῦ. I suspect errors also in ll. 12, 15, 16 and 17.

² So E. A. G. In the copy of S. C. this applies only to ll. 3, 5.

³ See No. 20 below.

11. Lying loose in the church at Azrameri (near Langavuk, on the northern foot-hills of Kotos) is a fragment of a limestone monument of about the third century B.C. with a female head well cut in high relief; below it is the inscription in letters about '03 m. high. Copied by S. C.

ΕΙΩΚΑΙΑΝΤΙ	- - - εἶψ καὶ Ἀντι-
ΝΝΟΙΣ	- - - - - ννοῖς.

The inscription is too mutilated to be capable of restoration; if the first N in l. 2, marked as very faint, is due to a misreading, the text may possibly be of the form

[Ὁ δεινὰ Δ]εἶψ καὶ Ἀντι-
[γόνψ τοῖς ἐγγό]ννοῖς.

For ἐγγόννοῖς cf. Dem. 394, for ἐκγόννοῖς, which is equally possible, cf. Ἀθηνᾶ xv. 35. The above formula, however, and the omission of the *iota adscriptum* suggest a later date for the inscription than that indicated by the style of the relief.

12. At Galatista, built into the village fountain, is a stele with moulded edges: above the inscription is a crude relief, apparently representing a horse to r. Letters about '03 m. high. Copied by A. M. W.

ΚΟΤΥΕΜΕ	Κότυς με-
ΤΑΤΩΝΤΕ	τὰ τῶν τέ-
ΚΝΩΝΚΑΙ	κνων καὶ
ΝΕΙΚΟΥΝΟΣ	Νεικούνος
ΤΗΣΠΕΝΘΕ	5 τῆς πενθε-
ΡΑΣΟΥΑΛΕ	ρᾶς Οὔαλ(ε)-
ΡΙΑΤΗΣΥΝΒΙ	ρία τῇ συνβί-
ΩΜΝΕΙΑΣ	ψ μνείας
ΧΑΡΙΝ	χάριν.

Κότυς is a common Thracian name (W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, ii. 2, 50), for which Κώτυς (Dem. 596: cf. Dem. 124, Κώτιδι) may be a variant or an error. The phrase μετὰ τῶν τέκνων recurs in Dem. 403, 783 (cf. Dem. 445, μετὰ τέκνων). For a similar participation of a mother-in-law in the erection of a monument, see Dem. 443. Νεικούνος is apparently genitive of Νεικώ (cf. Ἀριστώ, Ἠγησώ, Ἠρώ, Νεικησώ, Ξενώ,

κτλ. in Dem. Index)¹ or possibly of Νεικοῦς (cf. Ζωσοῦς, Dem. 220): Παπποῦνι in Dem. 77 is masculine and so affords no parallel, but [Π]υσταμαντοῦνι in Dem. 555 (cf. Μαντώ) is similar. A. M. W. has suggested that two names are to be read in Πυσταμαντοῦνι: is it possible that the first is [Φα]ύστα? In any case the inscription presents some difficulty. In Dem. 454 Ὀλύστα is plainly an error for (Φα)ύστα.

13. At Erisso, the ancient Acanthus, in an open space near the highest point of the village. A drum of white marble, resembling Pentelic. The upper portion of the inscription has perished. Height and diameter about 1.1 m. Letters .03 m. high, well cut. Copied by A. M. W.

ΑΤ	[Αὐτοκράτορι]
ΕΝΙΘΕΟΥ	[Καίσα]α(ρ)[ι]
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΗΠΟΛΙΣ	[θ]εῶι θεοῦ [νίῳ]
ΚΑΙΟΙΣΥΝΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥ	Σεβαστῶ ἡ πόλις
ΟΜΕΝΟΙΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΚΑΙ	καὶ οἱ συνπραγματευ-
ΟΙΠΑΡΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ	5 ὄμενοι Ρωμαῖοι καὶ
	οἱ παροικοῦντες.

The inconsistency regarding the *ι mutum*, which is written in l. 2 and omitted in l. 3, is noticeable.

The inscription almost certainly stood below a statue dedicated to Augustus, probably representing the Emperor himself. The most likely restoration is that given above, suggested by A. M. W., to whom I also owe some of the following notes.

Ll. 1-3. The titles here given to Augustus agree exactly with those of *I.G.* ix. 2. 40 (Dittenb. *Syll.*² 354, *Syll.*³ 778) from Hypata, and of *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* i. 875, from Panticapaeum: a very similar dedication from Olbia is published by Latyshev, *I.A.O.S.P.E.* i. 102, Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεῶι θεοῦ νίῳ Σεβαστῶι ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ πατρὶ πατρίδος καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Σεβαστῶι θεοῦ νίῳ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι κτλ. Elsewhere the same words occur in various orders; e.g. in Thasos we have Αὐτ. Καίσα. θεοῦ νίῳ θεῶι Σεβ. (*I.G.* xii. 8. 380 = *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* i. 833), and in Lycia Θεὸν Σεβ. θεοῦ νίῳ Καίσα. Αὐτ. (*I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 719). The inscription from Olbia quoted above was set up after Augustus' death, but the employment of the term θεός does not necessarily imply a date after

¹ For Δητοῦν etc. see H. van Herwerden s.v. in *Mélanges Nicole*, 252. For the declension of -α names E. Mayser, *Grammatik d. griech. Papyri*, 268.

14 A.D. In Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 533, *θεὸς Σεβαστός* certainly refers to the living Augustus, and the same is probably true of the other instances already quoted. Thus the base at Erisso may be assigned to a date between 27 B.C. and 14 A.D.

L. 3. *Ἡ πόλις* is probably Acanthus. True, Acanthus is not known to have been a place of any importance in Roman times, and the appearance of a body of Roman *negotiatores* there is surprising: it is, however, unlikely that the base was brought from elsewhere.

L. 4 ff. The phrase here used points to the existence of a Roman *conventus*. *Οἱ πραγματευόμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν Ῥωμαῖοι* appear in an inscription of Assus (Dittenb. *Syll.*² 364, *Syll.*³ 797), and *οἱ πραγματευόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι* in a text found near Amisus (Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 532). Such *conventus* are discussed by E. Kornemann, 'De civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentibus' (*Berliner Studien*, xiv. 1) and A. Schulten, *De conventibus civium Romanorum*, and the examples known up to 1891 are there collected and arranged (Kornemann, 97 ff., Schulten, 19 ff.). See also Kornemann's article in Pauly-Wissowa on *consistere* (iv. 922 ff.) and *conventus* (iv. 1180 ff.). For Delos, where the evidence is specially abundant but not altogether easy to interpret, see J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.* xxxvi. 146 ff. The word *συνπραγματευόμενοι* occurs elsewhere, so far as I know, only at Edessa (Dem. 3, *ἡ πόλις καὶ οἱ συνπ. Ῥωμαῖοι*); the only *conventus* in Macedonia known to Kornemann are those of Edessa and Beroea (Dem. 58, *Βεροιαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐνκεκτημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι*). Of the use of *παροικούντες* in this connexion I know no other example; the term *κατοικούντες* is the usual one (once varied by *ἐποικούντες*), save at Delos, where the commonest phrase is *κατοικούντες καὶ παρεπιδημοῦντες*. For the words *κατοικούντες*, *κάτοικοι*, *παροικούντες*, *μέτοικοι*, *πάριοι*, see G. Cardinali's recent article in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xvii. 184 ff.

14. Built into the north wall of Cerpista church, about fifteen feet above the ground. The inscription is on a square block, measuring approximately 15 in. × 9 in. and the letters are about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. high. Copied by S. C.

ΩΡΩΙΑΡΦΟΚΡΑ
ΤΗΙ ΟΙΕΡΕΥΣ
ΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΑ
ΤΟΝΝΑΟΝ

"Ωρωι Ἀρφοκρά-
τηι ὁ ἱερεὺς
Ἰσίδωρος Ἀπολλᾶ
τὸν ναόν.

The vertical stroke of the p extends above the semi-circle. The free ends of some of the straight strokes are marked by rudimentary cross-strokes.

The inscription is interesting as affording fresh evidence for the spread of the cult of the Egyptian deities in Macedonia. The evidence available up to 1913 is collected¹ in W. Baege, *De Macedonum sacris* (*Diss. philol. Halenses*, xxii. 1), 158 ff.; it is mainly literary in character, but includes numismatic evidence for Salonika and Potidaea, a sculptured relief on a sarcophagus at Salonika (Dem. 427; cf. *I.G.* vii. 2482), and inscriptions from Beroea (Dem. 61, dedication to Isis Λοχία), Anthemus (Dem. 782, votive to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis) and Amphipolis (Dem. 885, dedication to Sarapis, Isis, and King Philip: Dem. 857 is very doubtful). To these must be added two inscriptions from Salonika recently published—one in honour of two προστάται θρησκευτῶν καὶ τῶν σηκοβατῶν θεοῦ Ἑρμανούβιδος (*B.C.H.* xxxvii. 94), the other set up by οἱ συνθρησκευταὶ κλεινοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος (Ἀλήθεια of October 7th, 1906, quoted *B.C.H.* xxxvii. 95, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xx. 70). The cult seems to have flourished in Thrace (see W. Drexler, *op. cit.* 97 ff.) and to have been especially vigorous at Tomi on the Euxine: an inscription found there refers to τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Σαράπιδος (*A.-E.M.* vi. 23), and we also possess an interesting dedication to '... and Sarapis and Isis and Anubis and all gods' (*A.-E.M.* xix. 97), and another dated March 29th, 160 A.D. [Διὶ Ἑλ]ίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπ[ιδι καὶ τ]οῖς συννόοις θεοῖς κτλ. (*Rev. Philol.* xxxvi. 291). A votive inscription to Sarapis and Isis from Panium, on the shore of the Propontis, is published in *B.C.H.* xxiv. 164.

Hitherto, however, there has been no mention of Horus in this area, though our present text shows that he had a shrine, and apparently a priest, of his own. Where this lay is unfortunately still doubtful: the inscription 'may come either from Amphipolis (Neochori) or from Berga (kilo. 70-71 on the Salonika-Serres road); there is no ancient site in or near Cerpista' (S. C.). *A priori* Amphipolis, a cosmopolitan centre known to have had a cult of Sarapis and Isis (see above), has the stronger claim. For Horus see Roeder's article in Pauly-Wissowa, viii. 2433 ff., for Horus-Harpocrates *ib.* 2435 f.: Roeder does not, however, discuss the diffusion of the cult over Greece. E. Meyer deals more briefly with the same god in

¹ W. Drexler, *Mythologische Beiträge*, I. *Der Cultus der ägyptischen Gottheiten in den Donauländern* (Leipzig, 1890), 122 ff. will still repay study.

Roscher, i. 2744 ff. (Horus-Harpocrates, *ib.* 2746), with references for the existence of his cult in Delos, Ambracia, Chios, and Naples: 'Harpocrates,' he says, 'ist denn auch die einzige Gestalt des Horus welche die Griechen ausserhalb Ägyptens gekannt und verehrt haben.' Cf. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, ii. 1562. For the spelling of the name Harpocrates see Gruppe, *loc. cit.* note 4 and E. Sittig, *Zeits. f. vergleichende Sprachforschung*, xlv. 242 ff. Our inscription gives the first specific mention of a ναός¹ of one of the Egyptian gods on Macedonian soil, though we have seen that Sarapis has his *ἱερόν* at Tomi and the title *ἀρχινακός* (B.C.H. xxxvii. 94) suggests the existence of a ναός of Hermanubis at Salonika.

Sufficient attention has not been drawn to personal names as indicative of the spread of the Egyptian cults.² It is worth noting that the priest who here dedicates the temple to Horus-Harpocrates is named Ἰσίδωρος, while among the names which occur in the votive inscription to Ζεὺς Ἥλιος μέγας Σάραπις at Tomi are Ἀνουβίων and Σαραπίων (*Rev. Philol.* xxxvi. 291).³ The evidence for Macedonia can best be gathered from Dem. Index, s.vv. (Ε)ἰσιός, Εἰσιγένης, Εἰσιδοτος, (Ε)ἰσίδωρος, Εἰσιών, Σαραπίων, Σεραπιακός, Σεραπίων, Σεράπουν, to which may be added Ἴσις, found as a human name at Salonika (B.C.H. xxxvii. 115), Εἰσιός, also from Salonika (B.C.H. xxiii. 341 = Ἀθηνᾶ, xii. 90), and Σαραπίδης from Laïna (Ἀθηνᾶ, xviii. 36).⁴ Ἀποκρατίων occurs in two inscriptions of Perinthus, one of the principal centres of the Egyptian cults (*Ath. Mitt.* xxii. 474 = *Rev. Arch.* xix. 1912, 325), while Ἰσίδωρος (Πανδώρα, xix. 82, quoted *Klio.* ix. 492; *A.-E.M.* xix. 97) and Σεραπίων (*A.-E.M.* vi. 19, xix. 223) are found on the western coast of the Euxine.⁵

¹ Other Macedonian ναοί occur in Dem. 213, 367, 380, 1088, P. Perdrizet in *Corolla Numismatica*, 226.

² Drexler makes good use of this evidence, but Baeye does not mention it.

³ Cf. *A.-E.M.* xiv. 22, xix. 97. So at the Eretrian Iseum an Ἰσίδωρος appears as *ζάκορος* (*Arch. Δελτ.* i. 148).

⁴ The ΣΑΡΑΠΙ --- of Dem. 857 also belongs here. In *Πρακτικά*, 1913, 156, No. 46, the editor reads ΚΛ. Τεσιαδι (;): I do not think that the inscription is complete at the beginning and suggest --- καὶ Εἰσιάδι. We should also restore [με]ῖας χάριν instead of (φιλ;)ῖας χάριν. The date of the epitaph in question, given by the editor as 584 A.D., is in reality 52 A.D., nor does the text bear any trace of being Christian.

⁵ The connexion between the Egyptian cults and the names of their devotees is further illustrated by a document from the Eretrian Iseum, which contains the names Εἰσίδωρος, Εἰσιδώρα, Εἰσιγένης, Ἴσις (twice) and Σεραπίς (*Arch. Δελτ.* i. 158 ff. No. 9). I do not understand why Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, ii. 2, 10, regards Ἰσιών as a Thracian name.

The evidence for the diffusion of the Egyptian cults outside Egypt is stated by W. Drexler in Roscher, ii. 373 ff.; for the Danube lands in particular the same writer's work already cited is invaluable. For Delos the materials have been collected and discussed by P. Roussel,¹ while the excavation of the Iseum at Eretria by N. Papadakis has produced some epigraphical results of considerable interest ('*Αρχ. Δελτ.* i. 115 ff.).

For the name 'Απολλᾶς (cf. *Jahresh.* vi. Beiblatt, 3) see comment on No. 8, for the form of the genitive, comment on No 4.

15. On a limestone slab, let in as a step under the bottom arch of the tower in the yard of the church at Cerpista in the Struma Valley, between Nigrita and Mekes. The slab has been badly worn and part of the surface, at the left-hand top corner, is not visible. Dimensions about 1 m. × '3 m. Height of letters about '025 m. The stone is complete at sides and bottom, but it has been cut away at the top. It may come from Amphipolis (Neochori) or from Berga (see No. 14 commentary). Copied by S. C.

	MI
	POY
	TOΔOC
	ICTONA
5	ΠIONOIK
	ONALEN
	NΔPOI
	COΛOY
	OYK ΛI'
10	ONMI
	IN
	ΠOY
	KEP
	KΔIKOY
15	N ON

I do not attempt a transcription of the text, the sense of which I do not understand. The first letter of l. 3 may be a T, but looks rather

¹ *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J. C.*, Paris and Nancy (Berger Levrault), 1916.

more like a Π. The words τὸν ἅγιον οἶκον are obscure. The common phrase οἶκος αἰώνιος, used of the tomb (*e.g.* Dem. 418, 789: cf. *Jahresh.* i. Beiblatt, 107), seems unsuitable here, nor could αἰώνιος be replaced by ἅγιος. Nor, again, can it well refer to an ordinary dwelling, as in Dem. p. 395, No. 11. Οἶκος is frequently used of the Imperial House, but not, I think, with the epithet ἅγιος.¹ There remains the use of οἶκος for a club or association (*F. Poland, Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, 114, 152, *A. Wilhelm, Beiträge z. griech. Inschriftenkunde*, 51 f., *G. Tocilescu, Fouilles et Recherches*, 223) like the οἶκος τῶν ἐν Τόμει ναυκλήρων and the οἶκος τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, to the latter of which an altar was dedicated in 160 A.D. (*Rev. Phil.* xxxvi. 291).² It is perhaps too bold to see in our present inscription any reference to a similar Amphipolitan (?) club, οἶκος Ἀλε(ξ)[α]νδρ[έων]. L. 14 seems to contain some part of the noun ἐκδικος or of the verb ἐκδικέω, *e.g.* [ἐ]κδικοῦν[τω]ν. This title (for which see Brandis in *Pauly-Wissowa* v. 2160 f. and Hauvette in *Dar.-Sagl. s.v.*), though found in Thera and Daulis, is almost confined to Asia Minor and the Danube lands, *e.g.* Tomi, Pautalia, Philippopolis, Küstendil: it is frequently used as the equivalent of the Latin *defensor civitatis*. Occasionally the title is borne by an official of an association and not of the state (*A.-E.M.* vi. 19, xix. 222). It has not hitherto occurred in Macedonia.

16. Built into the E. wall of Mekes church, probably from Berga. The stone, which measures about .5 m. in breadth and .05 m. in height, has a rough edge all round, as though it had been trimmed. Height of letters about .04 m. Copied by S. C.

ΥΝΕΙΚΟΛΗΔΕΙΣΕΠΟΙΟΨ - - - υ Νεικομηδεῖς ἐποίο(υ)[ν - - -

The opening υ is probably the end of a patronymic. A native of Nicomedia, the principal town of Bithynia, appears at Philippopolis (*B.C.H.* xxv. 308): the name Ν(ε)ικομήδης is found in Macedonia (Dem. 1, *B.S.A.* xviii. 149). Ποιῶ, originally used of the actual sculptor or potter, frequently occurs in later inscriptions with the sense 'caused to be

¹ Οἶκος τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων (*B.M. Inscr.* 481*, l. 385), ὁ σεβαστὸς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων οἶκος (*I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 37), οἶκος θεῖος (*ib.* i. 682: the epithet θεῖος is apparently wrongly restored, *ib.* 1492). Cf. *ἱερὰ οἶκία*, *ib.* iii. 374. The almost invariable attribute of οἶκος in this sense is σύμπας.

² Οἶκος is also used of the club-house (*Poland, op. cit.* 459 ff.).

made,¹ the object being either expressed (*e.g.* Dem. 402 τὸ ἡρῶν καὶ τὴν σορόν, Dem. 522 τὴν ληνόν, Dem. 813 τὰς εἰκόνας ἑαυτῶν) or more frequently understood (Dem. 39, 42, 81, 283, 301, etc.). The aorist tense is usually employed, but the imperfect is by no means rare (*e.g.* ἐποίει in Dem. 272, 393, 816, 817, 845, 911, *B.S.A.* xviii. 171, ἐποίουν in Dem. 522, 813). Cf. ἔγραφε in a text found near Iamboli (*A.-E.M.* xvii. 222).

17. On a limestone slab, measuring about 5 ft. × 3 ft. × 8 in., lying face upwards on pillars in Mekes churchyard, forming a kind of table. The letters are about '04 m. high. It comes very probably from the site of Berga, which is only about 2 km. distant. Another slab must have adjoined it on the left, but of this there is now no trace. Copied by S. C.

ΣΑΡΑ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ - ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ
 ΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ - ΘΕΟΥ - ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ
 ΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ - ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ
 ΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ
 5 ΟΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ Γ. Ν. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
 ΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ Θ. Ξ. Ρ

- - - Καί]σαρα Αὐτοκράτορα Τιβέριον
 - - - - - ον Καίσαρα θεοῦ Σεβαστο[υ]
 - - - - - ον υἱὸν Σεβαστόν.
 - - - Καί]σαρος Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γυμνασιάρχου
 5 - - - - - ον Διοσκουρίδου, ἔτους γν' Σεβαστοῦ
 - - - - - ρος καὶ Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῶν, τοῦ καὶ θξρ'.

In the first three lines there were plainly two short inscriptions referring probably to statues which stood above them, while below was engraved a single inscription with much longer lines. The right-hand short text has survived practically entire. The titles given to Tiberius are very similar to those of *I.G.* xii. 2, 539 (where υἱός is replaced by παῖς) and xii. 9, 939 (where Αὐτοκράτωρ is omitted): cf. *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* i. 853 (Olbia) Αὐτοκράτορι Σεβαστῶι θεοῦ υἱῶι Τιβερίωι Καίσαρι. The left hand short inscription is lost save for the ends of three words, the first of which must belong to the word Καίσαρα. In the Olbian inscription

¹ For parallel uses of other verbs, see P. Roussel, *R.E.G.* xxix. 181 ff.

just quoted (dated by Latyschev after 14 A.D., by the editors of *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* between 4 and 14 A.D.) Augustus and Tiberius are associated, and as it is hard to see what other Caesar could here be conjoined with Tiberius, I assume that the left hand text refers to divus Augustus and restore [Αὐτοκράτορα Καί]σαρα [θεὸν θεοῦ υἱὸν [Σεβαστ]όν (as at Olbia and in No. 13 above), or [Αὐτοκράτορα Καί]σαρα [θεοῦ υἱὸν θε]όν [Σεβαστ]όν (as in *I.G.* xii. 2. 61, 153, 157, 158, etc.), or some similar formula.

L. 4 ff. These lines give either (1) the date of the erection of the monument, or, (2) more probably, the name of the official entrusted with its erection followed by the date. In the former case we may restore [Ἐπὶ (ἀρχ)ιερέως Κα]ίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ¹: cf. *I.G.* xii. 3, 1104 τοῦ Σεβ. θεοῦ Καισ., v. 1, 1394 θεὸς Καῖσ. Σεβ., *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 925 ἱερασάμ[ενον] . . . θεοῦ Σεβασ[τοῦ] Κ[α]ίσαρος. In the latter case ἐπὶ must be replaced by διὰ (as in *op. cit.* i. 1060, 1063, 1067, etc.), προνοία (as in Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 608, 615, 619) or similar phrase.² The priest of divus Augustus is at the same time γυμνασίαρχος (see note on No. 7, l. 4). Διοσ-κουρίδου (see note on No. 3) gives the name either of the priest-gymnasiarch, in which case it is probably preceded by *praenomen* and *nomen*, or of his father, the name itself being lost and the opening ου of l. 5 being its last letters or, more probably, part of [τ]οῦ. The date then follows according to the Actian and the Macedonian era. In l. 6 ΡΟΞ points to [Καίσα]ρος or [Αὐτοκράτο]ρος; in either case the insertion of a phrase between ἔτους γν' Σεβαστοῦ and τοῦ καὶ θξρ' is unparalleled³ and I can find no satisfactory explanation of it. To denote the 'Actian' era the word Σεβαστοῦ usually suffices, and occasionally even this is omitted. Ἰουλία Σεβαστή was the title borne 14–29 A.D. by Livia, Augustus' widow, under the terms of her husband's will; the plural Σεβαστῶν is probably due to the familiarity of the phrases οἱ (θεοὶ) Σεβαστοί, οἱ κύριοι Σεβαστοί used of Tiberius and his mother.⁴

If the argument stated in my article on 'The Macedonian Era' (pp. 206 ff. of this volume) is valid, this inscription belongs to the year

¹ Cf. G. Gerlach, *Griech. Ehreninschriften*, 95; W. Larfeld, *Handbuch*, ii. 862 ff., *Griech. Epigraphik*,³ 447 ff.

² Cf. Gerlach, *op. cit.* 84 ff.; Larfeld, *Handbuch*, ii. 862, *Griech. Epigraphik*,³ 446 f.

³ The Σεβαστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ of Ἀρχ. Δελτ. ii. 147 and the Σεβαστοῦ Καί[σαρος] Ἀβ[τοκράτορος] of Dem. 748 are, as I hope to show in my article on 'The Macedonian Era,' due to misreadings of the respective texts.

⁴ Reff. in *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. p. 582 f. Cf. *op. cit.* i. 1150.

21-22 A.D. In any case it is the earliest extant example of the simultaneous dating of a text by the two eras current in Macedonia.

18. On a square cippus¹ in the road at Vromeri Skala, bearing a relief representing a funeral banquet, with a seated woman and a recumbent

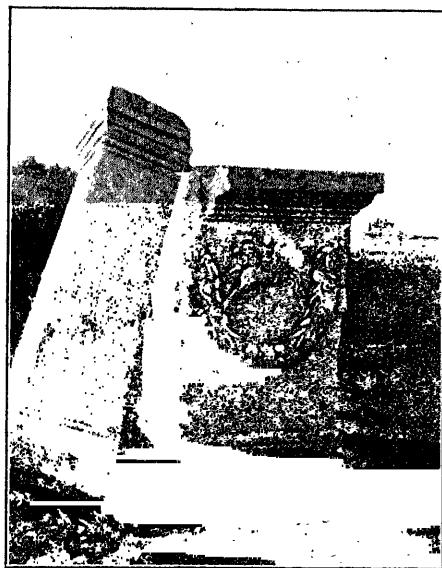


FIG. 1.—CIPPUS AT VROMERI SKALA.

man. (See Fig. 1; the horseman and wreath are on another cippus against which it leans). Copied by E. A. G.

ΣΕΡΒΕΙΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΧΗ ΠΑΥΛΑ
Τῇ ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤῇ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ ΕΚ ΤῶΝ ΚΟΙ-
ΝῶΝ ΚΟΤΩΝ ΝΕΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΖΗ-
ΣΑΣΗ ΣΕΜΝῶΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΕΜΠΤΩΣ

*Σερβεῖλιος καὶ Κυρίχη Παύλα
τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ θυγατρὶ ἐκ τῶν κοι-
νῶν κόπων νείας χάριν ζη-
σάσῃ σεμνῶς καὶ ἀμέμπτως.*

¹ Published in G. P. Oikonomos, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* (p. 27, No. 46), which was inaccessible to me when the present article was written.

Σερβείλιος and Σερβειλία, sometimes written with ου in place of β, occur fairly often in the Thracio-Macedonian area¹ (see, e.g. indexes to Dem. and Kalinka *A.D.B.*). Παῦλος is also moderately common, though I have noted no instance of Παῦλα. Κυρίχη I do not know elsewhere; it is apparently related to Κύριος, as Σωτηρίχα to Σωτήριος and Ὀλυμπίχη to Ὀλύμπιος.

For the phrase ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν κόπων see No. 10 and comment.

NOTES ON TWO PUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS.

19. To Major E. S. Forster I owe a copy, made in 1916, of an inscription published by Leake and reproduced in *C.I.G.* 1967*b*, Le Bas 1356, and Dem. 677. It was found at Aivatli, and thus probably belongs, like No. 7 above, to the ancient Lete; as, however, Le Bas published it among the inscriptions of Thessalonica without noting its provenance, Demitsas conjectured that it had been removed to Salonika. This supposition proves to be false, the inscription being still at Aivatli when copied by Major Forster. The copy, made under difficulties, is incomplete, but in view of the interest of the text its variants deserve to be noted.

L. 2 ΝΑΟΥΓΙΑΔΟΥ (Dem.). . . ΑΥ.Ι. . . Ο (E.S.F.).

L. 4 E.S.F. shows the first Ο as coming above the first Ι of Ι. 5: this suggests that the true reading may be ΠΤΟΛΕΜ.

L. 6 ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ. ΣΜΑΒΑΙΘΟΝ (Dem.). . ΟΛΕΜΑΡ+. ΣΜΑΡΝΟ (E.S.F.).

L. 8 ΝΤΙΓΟΝΣ. ΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ (Dem.). \ΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΞΛΥΞΑΝΙ (E.S.F.).

L. 9 ΠΟΛΕΜΑΙ. . . (Dem.). 'ΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΞ (E.S.F.).

L. 10 ΠΑΛΟΣ (Dem.). . ΤΤΑΛΟΞ (*i.e.* [ʹΑ]τταλος) (E.S.F.).

L. 13 . . . ΙΓΟΝΟΞΕΥΘΥΜ. . ΔΗΣ (Dem.). ΤΙΓΟΝΟΞΕΥΘΥΜΙΔΗΣ (E.S.F.).

L. 16 . . ΑΙΟ. ΑΣ. . ΓΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ (Dem.). ΑΙΟΙΑΞΑΓΕΣΤΡΑΤΟ (E.S.F.).

L. 17 ΔΑΙΟΣ. ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ (Dem.). ΔΑΟΞΞΩΠΑΤΡΟ (E.S.F.). The letters are widely spaced, but nothing is missing after the first Ξ. For Δαός as a Thracian name see Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, ii. 2. 29.

¹ Possibly this is to some extent connected with the governorship of M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus, who was *legatus pro praetore* of Lower Moesia under Marcus and Verus, 162 A.D. (*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, iii. 226, No. 415).

20. I found and copied in an open space near the N.W. end of St. Demetrius Street the inscription published in Dem. 412 after Delacoulonche. It is engraved in a panel on the face of a large marble sarcophagus: at the corners of the lid were small representations in relief, (1) on left-hand corner, man to r. standing before table or altar, (2) on right-hand corner, two men advancing to l. with belts and kilts. Ll. 1, 5 begin somewhere further to left than the rest. Letters large but rather irregular: a few have very rudimentary *apices*. Forms AEMZΠCΩ. MH in l. 4 and HP in l. 5 are ligatured.

In l. 1 we must read Αὐρ. Μαρκελλεῖνα τῷ κρατίστῳ instead of Αὐρ. Μαρκέα Δειναίῳ κρατίστῳ. L. 5 ends not with ΧΜ, as in Dem., but with

Χ ΝΑ ΑΠΛΑΣ

i.e. δραχμὰς δεκακισμυρίας ἀπλᾶς. The adjective shows that we must interpret Χ here as denoting drachmas and not denarii. The fine is very high but not suspiciously so. In *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 11 (f) a fine of 50,000 denarii is imposed, *ib.* 1393 the sum is 120,000 (denarii?). According to O. Treuber, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Lykier*, II. 27 such fines range from 100 to 4,000,000 denarii, though all sums exceeding 20,000 belong to a period when the worth of the denarius had sunk.

LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM PHILIPPI. (Fig. 2.)

The Latin inscriptions which follow (Nos. 21–25) were copied on the site of the ancient Philippi, together with with a Greek text (Heuzey-Daumet, *Mission Archéol.* No. 43; Dem. 927), by Lieut. F. B. Welch. The copies, which unfortunately had to be very hurriedly made and are therefore not accompanied by full particulars, were given by Lieut. Welch to Captain Casson, who has handed them on to me. So far as I can discover, these texts have not been published previously. To Mr. J. G. C. Anderson I am indebted for much valuable assistance in the interpretation of No. 21.

21. The text reads:—

Isidi reg(inae) sac(rum)
ob honor(em) divin(ae)
domus pro salute
colon(iae) Iul(iae) Aug(ustae) Philippiens(is)

- 5 Q. Mofius Euhemer(us)
 medicus ex imperio
 p(ecunia) s(ua) p(osuit), idem su[bse]l(l)ia IIII.
 loco adsig(nato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

L. I. For the worship of Isis in Macedonia see comment on No. 14 above. The goddess frequently bears the title *regina*, as *e.g.* in Dessau

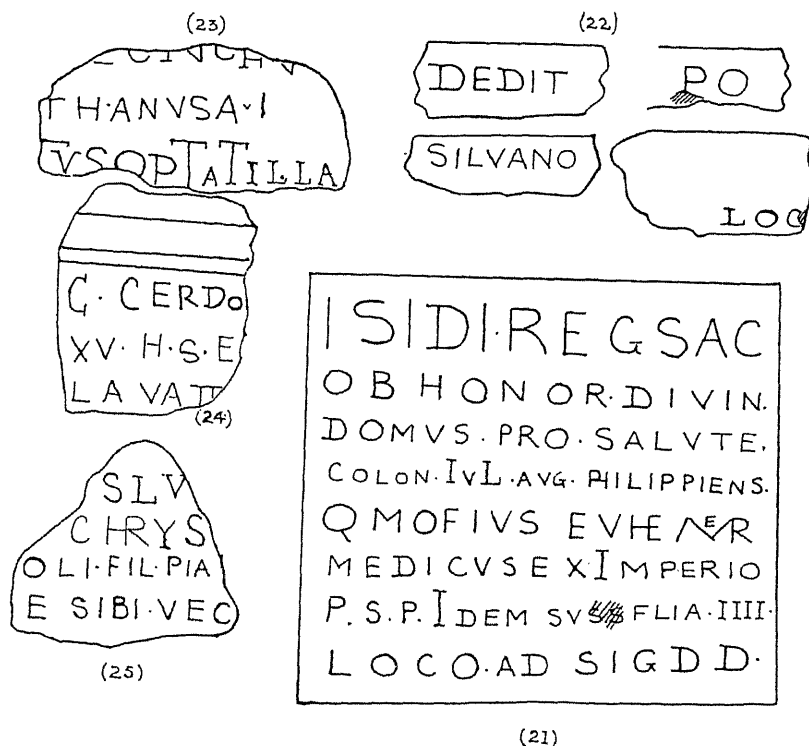


FIG. 2.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM PHILIPPI.

2218, 4355-7, 4368-9, 4380, 6487: the *dea regina* of two inscriptions from Sarmizigetusa (*C.I.L.* iii. 7907-8) is probably Isis.

L. 4. This full title of Philippi does not, so far as I know, occur elsewhere in an inscription, but *Col. Aug. [Iul.] Philip.*, [*Col. Aug.*] *Iul. Philipp.* and *Col. Aug. Iul. Philip.* are found on coins (*B. M. Cat. Coins: Macedonia, etc.* 98 f. Cf. *B.C.H.* xxi. 536). The variant *Philippiensis* for the more usual *Philippensis* recurs in *C.I.L.* iii. 14206⁴.

L. 5. The copy shows the name Mofius, which I cannot trace elsewhere: it seems unnecessary to emend to Modius, Mogius (*C.I.L.* iii. 5455) or Monius (*ibid.* 5639).

L. 6. *Ex imperio* (equivalent to *ex iussu* or *iussu*) means 'by command (of the goddess).'

L. 7. In the copy the SS of SVSSFLIA are marked as indistinct on account of damage to the stone's surface. Mr. Anderson, who has suggested *subsellia* (sometimes written with a single *l*), cites *C.I.L.* ii. 3728, *Herculem cum basi et ara et subsellis*.

L. 8. The commonest formula is *loco dato d.d.*

22. The chief monument of the worship of Silvanus in this region is the record of the *cultores Silvani*, which has survived among the ruins of a temple of that god near the Philippian theatre (*C.I.L.* iii. 633 ; Dem. 934-7). The four inscribed stones here represented were lying in the ruins of the theatre, and almost certainly came from the same sanctuary. The letters are about eight inches high.

23. The names Optatus and Optata are common, but I have not found another example of Optatilla. For the formation cf. Primilla, Secundilla, Asprilla, Maximilla, etc.

24. The name Cerdo is a common one (see e.g. *C.I.L.* iii. Index, p. 2385). H.S.E. is a very frequent abbreviation of *hic situs est*.

25. This may possibly be a fragment of the same inscription as the preceding.

MARCUS N. TOD.

At the last moment before going to press, I learn that the Latin inscriptions Nos. 21 and 22 come from the French excavation at Philippi. I fear it is too late now to correct my inadvertence, and trust that the members of the French School, of whose generosity my experience during the war has afforded me abundant testimony, will excuse me for having unwittingly trespassed on their domain.—M.N.T.

MACEDONIA.

VII.—THE BYZANTINE CASTLE OF AVRET-HISSAR.

(a) HISTORICAL.

ABOUT eight miles south-west of Kilkish or Kukuš, on the right bank of the river Zensko, is the ruined village of Avret-Hissar. Facing the village, on the left bank of the stream, is a prominent rocky spur, rising steeply from the river and crowned by the remains of a remarkable mediaeval building.

This was correctly identified by Leake,¹ who does not appear to have visited the site, as the castle of Γυναικόκαστρο, which played a prominent part in the history of this region in the fourteenth century. As I know of no published description of it, these notes seem to be worth publication in the hopes that a fuller study of the site may be made now that exploration in this area is more feasible.

Our chief sources for the knowledge of this castle are contained in the *Chronicles* of Cantacuzenus, where we read, 'τὸ Γυναικόκαστρον προσ-αγορευόμενον ἐτείχισε (sc. Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ νεώτερος) καὶ πύργον ἐπιστήσας μεγέθει τε μέγιστον καὶ καρτερώτατον ἀντισχεῖν πρὸς πολεμίῳ μηχανάς· ὅθεν ἔλαχε καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ὡς καὶ γυναικείας οὔσης φρουράς, κρείττων ἐσόμενος παντοίας πολεμίῳ προσβολῆς.'² We are told also by the same writer that it was a day's march from Salonika,³ and Nicephorus Gregoras

¹ *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii. p. 479, note 3.

² Cantacuzenus, ii. 38; cf. iv. 20, 22. (Reference is to the Venice edition of 1729.)

³ *Id.* iv. 20.

gives the distance as 200 stades (25 miles).¹ Its situation apparently enabled it to dominate the neighbourhood, for Protostrator ravaged the territory of Salonika from his encampment at the castle,² and one can well believe it to have been almost impregnable. In a revolt against the Emperor it was captured by the Triballi,³ and when the Emperor marched against it he was induced by Bessus, prefect of the garrison, not to attack it, under promise of its surrender within fifteen days. Bessus, however, broke his word. Another act of treachery is also associated with the site, for we read in Nicephorus Gregoras⁴ that Theodore Synadenus, suspected of favouring the cause of Cantacuzenus, left Salonika with his supporters and escaped to Gynaekokastro; but when Cantacuzenus followed him there Theodore resolved, rather than help him, to betray him to Apocaucus. No fighting took place, and Cantacuzenus marched away in fifteen days, to Uskub. This was apparently in 1342.

In 1350 we find Cantacuzenus negotiating for help with the king of Serbia, and in the treaty drawn up in that year the latter received, as the price of his aid, Pherai, Melenik, Strumnitza and Kastoria, Cantacuzenus retaining Verria, Edessa, Gynaekokastro, Mygdonia and towns on the Strymon.⁵ Afterwards it disappears from history, but it may be assumed that the Turks did not omit to use so strong a fortress.

I cannot find anything to substantiate the story that in A. H. 775 (1374) it was defended by a woman.⁶ This may represent merely a later invention to account for the name, but for its correct origin, as given above, the version of Cantacuzenus may be accepted, owing to his personal association with the early history of the place.

(b) TOPOGRAPHICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL.

The castle, which comprises a strong central portion and an outer defence wall, stands on a rugged limestone bluff at a height of nearly 400 feet above the river Zensko; this bluff falls sharply away on the west

¹ *Hist.* xiii. 1, 5. It is about 22 miles in a straight line.

² Cantacuzenus, iii. 38, 39.

³ *Id.* iv. 20. The date is not clear from the narrative.

⁴ *loc. cit.*

⁵ Cantacuzenus, iv. 21; quoted by Leake, *op. cit.* p. 478 f.; cf. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro dissertatio geographica* (Berlin, 1839), pp. 236, 279-281.

⁶ Hadschi Chalfa, *Rumelia et Bosnia*, p. 84.

and north; the ground falls less steeply on the east, and comparatively gently on the south. The view from the summit is of great extent and remarkably beautiful. The saddle connecting the castle spur with the hills to the south-east is quite 100 feet lower than the height of the ground floor level of the central building. On the lower slope, south-west of the outer wall, are many fragments of pottery, some clearly mediaeval, others apparently Roman, and a few which might be undecorated prehistoric wares. Traces of wall foundations appear at one or two points on this slope. The outer wall, which is standing in some places, notably to the north-west of the central building, to a height of about 8 feet, takes advantage, especially near its south-west angle, of outcrops of native rock, which enable its height to be materially increased at a few points. There is a gateway 12 feet wide (see Plan) in the south wall, about 30 feet from the south-west angle, which must have formed the main approach.

As circumstances did not permit anything like a complete survey of the site, I cannot give more than an approximate estimate of the area enclosed by the outer wall. At the north end where the enclosure is narrowest, the width is about 100 feet, at the south end fully 300, and the maximum length from north to south is roughly 600 feet. The north wall has entirely disappeared, but its returns on the east and west are well preserved. In addition to the gateway mentioned above there seems to be no other in the outer wall. Other features are a projecting tower on the east wall, abreast of the central building (2 on Plan), and a series of arched recesses on the inside of the northern portion of the western circuit-wall. These seem to be contemporary with the structure, and not openings subsequently filled up. A portion of the crenellation of the south-east wall is still preserved.

The material used is rubble masonry, with thick interstices of mortar, and only in a few places are the stones laid in more or less regular courses, *e.g.* near the south gateway. There are a few tiles built in irregularly at various points, in striking contrast with the central building where the tile courses are arranged with considerable eye to effect.

In fact the construction of the central building appears to be of a much higher quality than that of the outer wall. As the plan shows (Fig. 1) this consisted of two rooms (1*a*, 1*b*) measuring 19 feet 6 inches by 14 feet 6 inches, separated by a partition wall 2 feet 6 inches in

thickness. The width of the outer walls is 4 feet 9 inches, and in the west room there are two slit window-openings reaching up about four feet from the floor level. These narrow from about two feet on the inside to an

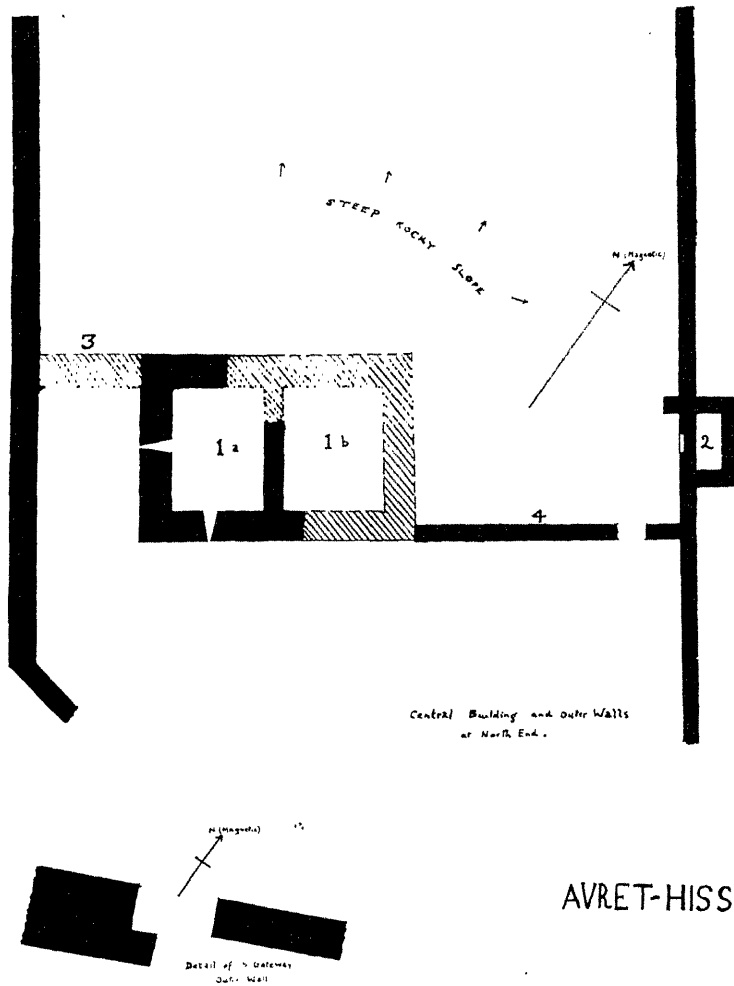


FIG. 1.—AVRET-HISSAR: SKETCH PLAN OF NORTH END AND SOUTH GATE.
(Scale, *ca.* 1 : 360.)

aperture of a few inches. There are no visible indications of an entrance but it must have been in the north wall. The outer wall of the west room is standing in places to a height of about twenty feet, and traces of a vaulted

roof are visible. There was clearly a storey above this chamber, and it may be assumed that the corresponding room on the east, of which the walls have collapsed, was similarly roofed, and that the upper storey extended over both. The height of the rooms on the ground floor appears to have been about fifteen feet to the crown of the vault. Immediately to the west of the window in the south wall is a small fireplace with a flue, in the thickness of the wall.

It is in the outer face of the wall at the south-west angle of the central building that the best masonry is preserved. Squared stones are employed to a larger extent than is noticeable elsewhere on the site, and there are regular courses of tiles about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, set in thick mortar. Traces are also visible of the use of beams set longitudinally in the core of the wall for strengthening purposes. This usage is well known in early mediaeval fortification. It was exemplified in the late Roman walls at Sparta, where small stems, apparently of pine, were set both longways and crossways in the rubble core of the wall.¹

At its north-west angle the central building is connected, by a westward continuation of the north wall, with the outer circuit wall. This cross wall (3 on Plan), which seems from its bonding to be contemporary with the rest of the structure, is not preserved above ground level. To the best of my recollection there is no trace of an entrance, but the lie of the ground makes it probable that the approach from the south gate to the central building passed between the latter and the outer wall at this point.

There are also the remains of a wall (4) about forty feet in length running from the south-east angle of the central building to join the outer wall at a short distance south of the tower on the latter, described above. This wall, which runs down the slope at an average angle of about 30 degrees, is well preserved for the most part but has collapsed at the point where it joined the central building. There is a gap, presumably contemporary with the wall, near its east end, and it seems not unlikely that this was the approach from the outer area to the stables and similar out-buildings which may reasonably be supposed to have been situated at the foot of the slope between the central building and the outer wall on the east.

In concluding these very imperfect notes may I express a hope that

¹ *B.S.A.* xii. (1905-6), p. 426.

they may incite someone better qualified to undertake a full examination of the whole site? Excavation of the fallen masonry might shed further light on the structure of the central building, and possibly reveal traces of an earlier occupation, and an accurate survey in any case would add considerably to our knowledge of what is after all a well-dated landmark in the history of Byzantine military architecture.

A. M. WOODWARD.

NOTES ON DORIS.¹

(PLATE XIV.)

THE following report is written as the result partly of observations made by individual British officers stationed at Bralo during the war, and partly of educational work on topography and archaeology undertaken by Y.M.C.A. workers who were for a time in those camps. It was drawn up at the request of the Archaeological Committee at G.H.Q., Salonika, and is now published as a possible guide in the choice of sites for further exploration for anyone who can give the time, money, and labour necessary for a more scholarly and scientific survey.

When I reached Bralo in September, 1918, I found that some four or five ancient fortified sites had been noted. Visits to these places confirmed the belief that the lines of masonry were of fourth century date and earlier; a few lectures on the topography and antiquities of ancient Doris elicited further information, while a visit paid to the camp by M. Papadakis, Ephor of Thebes, gave more precision to the investigations made by both officers and men in their spare time.

The sites and ruins which we found are shown on the accompanying map (Pl. XIV.).²

I.—PINDOS.

Pindos (Akyphas?) at the modern Kaniani was probably the strongest hill-fort that guarded the approaches by the passes of the Oeta range and protected Doris on its north-west frontier from the Dryopes. Alternately,

¹ See Lolling in *Ath. Mitt.* 1884, pp. 305; Tillard, *B.S.A.* xvii. pp. 54; Pauly-Wissowa, *R.-E.* s.v. 'Doris.'

² Sites or ruins discovered are indicated by one line drawn under the name, remains of considerable foundations by a double underline. P.K. = Palaiokastro (the local name for any old fortification) and indicates there is reason to believe, that the ruins are ancient Dorian. I am indebted to the Rev. A. Slater-Dunlop and to Major Barton for the photographs which illustrate this report and to Major Barton for the tracing and measurements of the inscription.

no doubt, it was Dryopian and Dorian. Its elevation is 900 m. (2,970 ft.) and it lies amid mountains of similar elevation traversed only by most difficult footpaths. The stream which flows down to the Kephisos by the only pass connecting Pindos with the plain was also called the Pindos, so that perhaps the alternative name Akyphas was the original name of the fortress itself, unless it is permissible to think that Akyphas is the name of No. 5.

2.—BOÏON.

Boïon (the probable name of the Palaiokastro at the modern Ano-Kastelli¹) is a hill-fort, built of large squared stones laid in horizontal lines, upon a crag in the next valley southward of that in which stands Pindos, at a distance of about four kilometres from it, the two forts being connected by a tiny mountain stream which flows into that tributary of the Kephisos which I think we must call the Apostoliá (some maps giving it that name, other maps giving the name to the stream which I have called the Pindos). At times when Pindos was the outpost of the Dryopes, Boïon would be the last western fortress of old Doris. The stronghold on the top of the crag would cost so much labour in construction that we must see here a position of considerable political importance. The masonry extends all down the slopes, with the familiar towers and curtain walls, gateways and parapets of that style which is elsewhere said to be of the late fourth century B.C.



FIG. 1.—RUINS NEAR KATO KASTELLI.

3.—ERINEOS.

Erineos (the probable name of the ruined fort near Kato Kastelli) was built at the entrance to the pass which leads up to the aforesaid Boïon, by a road which runs beside the stream I have called the Apostoliá. (Fig. 1.)

¹ Kastelli on the Map. *Ano* means *Upper* and marks the original village.

Its plan is more perfectly marked than that of any other fortification in old Doris. Drawing from memory, I suggest this plan (Fig. 2):—

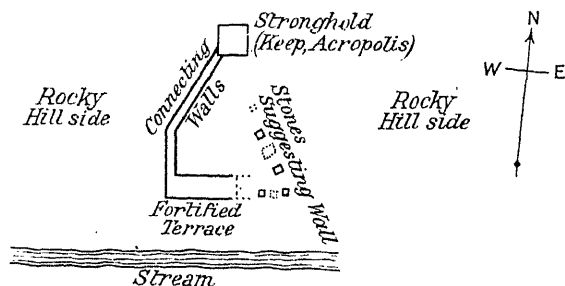


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF THE RUINED FORT NEAR KATO KASTELLI.

If the stones on the eastern side, which suggest that there may have been a wall running up to the stronghold on the western side, are really parts of a wall, then we have the triangular enclosure which is also traceable elsewhere, *e.g.* at Charadra, Lilaia, and Drymaia (Fig. 3). The masonry is remarkable for the size of the stones, not only of the lower terrace, but also of the stronghold, some of them more than five feet long and a good yard deep (Fig. 4). The lines are irregularly horizontal, and the surfaces have been worked by tools to make them fit. Mostly the stones have been simply chosen from the many naturally shaped which in these mountains abound suitable for building of this kind, and without much tooling laid together with ingenious care and excellent effect.



FIG. 3.—WEST WALL OF FORT AT DRYMAIA.

4.—KYTINION.

Kytinion lies in the plain at twenty minutes' walk from the last-named, beside a cluster of houses now called the Kalyvia of Khlomo, close to the intersection of the aforesaid Apostoliá with the Bralo-Gravia (*i.e.* the

Bralo-Itea) main road. It is a mound about 1,000 m. long and varying from 100 to 50 m. in breadth, the sides of which are shaped into alternate terraces and scarps, the latter faced with stone. The whole top of the mound is fortified, the ruins of the wall on the west side presenting for 100 m. or so an example of polygonal masonry. Hardly any of these stones are, however, the ordinary 'polygonal' masonry: they have been shaped into the general shape of a bean in such a fashion that the round surfaces of some stones are fitted to the cup-like depressions of others, the whole being thus locked together into a much stronger mass than that formed by stones whose surfaces are planes. Such walls would resist

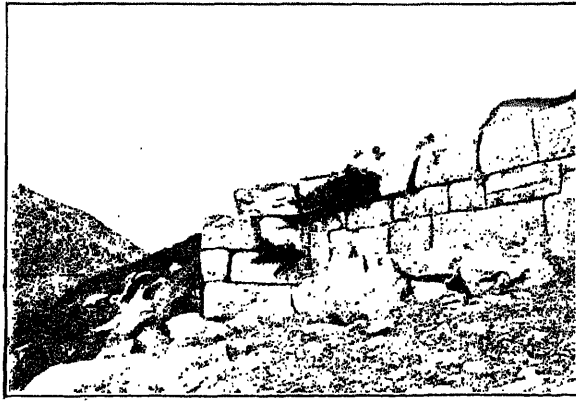


FIG. 4.—WALL OF RUINED FORT NEAR KATO KASTELLI.

battering rams, since they could not fall down. The lines of the masonry are wavy in waves of remarkable regularity, and not angular as the lines of true polygonal walls would be.

Upon these courses, which Major Barton thinks after digging in under the lowest stones, to be foundation courses, lies a wall of rectangular stones like those already mentioned. These later courses are of the fourth century B.C., and so the wave-like courses must be earlier, when always, as many references in history indicate, Kytinion was of great military importance. It would seem that the earliest Dorians settled on the 'island' sites amid the streams and marshes of the plain, and later built the strong hill-forts like Boïon and Pindos.

5.—AKYPHAS?

Akyphas? I have for the moment taken a name, not yet appropriated except as an alternative to Pindos, to designate a ruin which I have not seen indicated on any map. I found it in October, 1918, behind the little church of Hagios Elias on the hill next to and west of the village of Palaiokhori.¹ It is the best preserved ruin which I have seen in this



FIG. 5.—MASONRY AT AKYPHAS (?).

survey (Fig. 5.) The lower courses of this edifice enclose two distinct chambers of nearly equal size, the whole edifice being rectangular in plan and measuring about 30 m. by 20 m. The work is good, the courses being more regular and the joinings truer than elsewhere.

6.—CHARADRA.

Charadra is the ruin at Mariolates already described by Mr. Tillard in 'Fortifications of Phokis,'² and by other writers. I claim it for ancient Doris for the reason mentioned below (p. 110).

7.—LILAIA (?).

Portions and traces of walls and fort near Kato Suvala. The arrangement and suggestion are similar to that of other ruins in the hollows of the hill-sides themselves. At Lilaia, for example (if I am naming the ruin rightly), we have two walls protecting the two sides of a valley,

¹ M. Papadakis, the Ephor of Antiquities at Thebes, would name this new discovery *Eríneos* because of its 'windy' site: *Βοῖδον Κητινίδον καὶ Ἐρίνεον ἡνεμοέντα*. I leave the judgment to others. We were there on a very windy day.

² *B.S.A.* xvii. pp. 50.

converging to a hill-fort higher up, the enclosure being protected by a strong wall on the edge of the plain. The foundations of houses are found outside on the plain itself. If these are not to be counted with Lilaia, then I add another to the sites I note. The foundations of the houses of a town are certainly there.

8.—SITE OF ANCIENT TOWN.

A town-site where we found on the surface fragments of pottery of the classical age and other ages, and on scratching laid bare the lines of ancient walls for several hundred yards. A nullah on the side nearer the camp¹ marks off sharply the area where the pottery lies, and on the other sides the sharp descent from the edge makes the position defensible. The site lies close beside the junction of two roads the larger of which is the main Bralo-Itea road. It is about twenty minutes' walk from Kytinion.

In addition to these I have shown on the map some other sites where either I found an inscribed stone,² the edges of walls just visible, or other indications that excavation would be fruitful.

Our contribution to the solution of the problem of the Dorian towns may be briefly stated :—

1. The Dorian 'metropolis' was not composed of only three towns.
2. It was not a 'tetropolis' though there were at least four towns, Boïon, Pindos, Erineos, Kytinion. I count as certainly Dorian Charadra and the Palaikastro west of Palaiochori.
3. There were six towns, and sites can be indicated which bring the number up to nine.
4. It would seem from their relative positions that the metropolis was composed of 'linked villages,' each enclosed in a town wall, or else protected by a wall with towers, and surrounded by cultivated land. Of the ruins, some are on the plain and some in more strongly defensible positions on the mountain sides. The traditional names suggest a definite relation between a stronghold and a town in the plain; in some cases the stronghold and the town are adjacent.
5. The whole was a district of about a hundred square miles, a part of which lay on the western portion of the plain around the upper waters of

¹ The British camp lay around the bridge.

² See p. 110 and Fig. 6.

the Kephisos, and a part was made up of stream-valleys opening on the plain and long ravines further in the hills.

6. The recorded names of these towns and hill-forts taken collectively are Kytinion, Boïon, Pindos, Erineos, Charadra, Akyphas, but of these only Kytinion, Charadra, and Pindos can be with any certainty assigned to particular sites. No inscriptions or other monuments have been found which determine the names, and the evidence drawn from ancient authors is vague, often contradictory, and differently read by different critics. The most probable application of the names to places I have shown on the map.

7. The frontiers of Doris are not marked by any natural boundaries and were probably never determinate. Charadra was sometimes Phokian, sometimes Dorian; the same may be also said of Lilaia, though it was Phokian for longer periods. The western frontier of Phokis was, I think, marked by a line of more or less strongly defended towns (on islands of slightly elevated ground fairly well divided in the plain by small ravines) the sites of which I have detected as marked by natural formation, lines of wall-edge, and firm paths or little roadways suggestive of walls beneath. This line may be said to connect Drymaia on the edge of the northern slope of the valley with Lilaia on the southern edge. This western Phokian frontier may be said to give also an eastern frontier to Doris, as the islands of elevated ground on the Dorian side do not form so clear a line.

F. W. G. FOAT.

NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION (P. 111).

The stone was found about 400 yards east of kilometre stone 47, on the Bralo-Itea road, and is the brown sandstone which crops up regularly in Bralo valley. The block is about 2 feet 6 inches long, and 6 inches thick; the upper edge is cut back and faced (Fig. 6). The letter E is about 4 cmm. high. Mr. M. N. Tod comments as follows:—

+ENO< = Ξενος. + or X represents ξ in alphabets of the western group (Euboea, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, Laconia, Elis, etc.) at the earliest stage, and, in most cases, until the adoption of the Milesian alphabet.

The inscription is almost certainly an epitaph, belonging probably to the fifth century B.C.

If it is incomplete, it is a part of a name like *Ξενοσίων*, *Ξενόστρατος*, or *Ξενοστράτα* (*Ξενοστρότα* occurs in a Boeotian inscription, *I.G.* vii. 1281), which will stand either in the nominative or in the genitive.

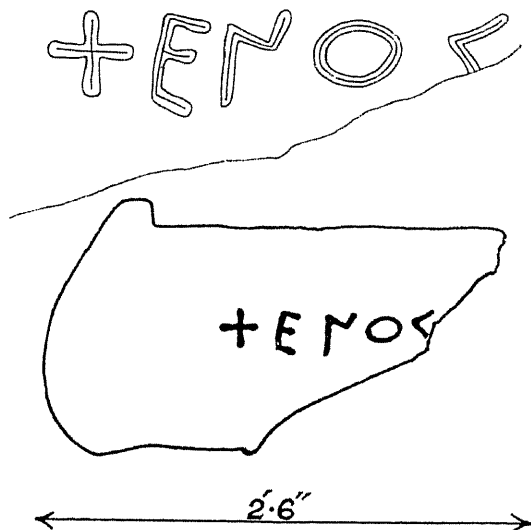


FIG. 6.—INSCRIBED SLAB FROM BRALO VALLEY WITH FACSIMILE OF THE INSCRIPTION. (Scale 1:4.)

If it is complete it consists either

(a) Of the masc. name *Ξένος* (for this name and the cognate *Ξεῖνος* see Pape-Benseler, *Griech. Eigennamen*, s.v.), or

(b) Of the genitive of the fem. name *Ξενώ* (gen. *Ξενοῦς* or, in certain dialects, *Ξενῶς*), which is found e.g. at Sparta (*I.G.* v. 1. 535) and in Boeotia (*I.G.* vii. 203, 597, *Ξεννώ* in vii. 1274).

Κλεῶς and *Δαμῶς* thus occur on two tomb-stones of Amphissa (*I.G.* ix. 1. 327, 328). For this use of the genitive in epitaphs (usually without the addition of *μνήμα*) see note on *I.G.* ix. 1. 327.

NOTES ON PREHISTORIC MOUNDS IN THE CAUCASUS AND TURKESTAN.

ON the occasion of a journey by railway across the Caucasus and into Western Turkestan in March, 1919, I found the opportunity of making a few notes upon objects of archaeological and ethnological interest in these areas. Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain any very detailed information as to mounds and other sites; and these notes are, in consequence, hardly more than a record of things observed *en route*. I was not able to obtain specimens of pottery from any of the mounds here referred to.

The area dealt with is the ground in the Caucasus covered by the main railway line from Batum to Baku, and in Turkestan by the plains at the foothills of the Balkhan and Kopet Dag ranges over which the Central Asiatic railway runs eastwards from Krasnovodsk, its Caspian terminus. (Fig. 1.)

I.—CAUCASUS.

From Batum the railway follows the coast due north as far as Notanebi where it turns east over the Supsa stream (the ancient Mugros) and follows the course of the river Rion (the ancient Phasis) as far as Kutais. Up to this point the ground is low and marshy and no mounds are visible.

From Kutais eastwards to Suram the southern spurs of the main Caucasus range are crossed, the railway reaching a maximum altitude of about 900 metres. Near Suram the route enters the valley of the Kura which it follows from thence onwards almost to the Caspian. For the most part this valley is narrow and shut in, being, from Gori to Mshket

(the ancient capital of Georgia) little more than a river gorge. At Mshket the route approaches nearest to the highest part of the Caucasus and joins the great road which comes across the range past Mount Kazbek from Vladikavkaz. Some ten miles south of Mshket is Tiflis, situated at an altitude of about 500 metres.

From Batum to Tiflis the route followed by the railway must correspond for the most part with the ancient trade route from Colchis to the Caspian, if only for the reason that, geographically, no other route is practicable. An alternative route via Kars and Erivan to the upper waters of the Araxes is possible, but it is improbable that this was used to any

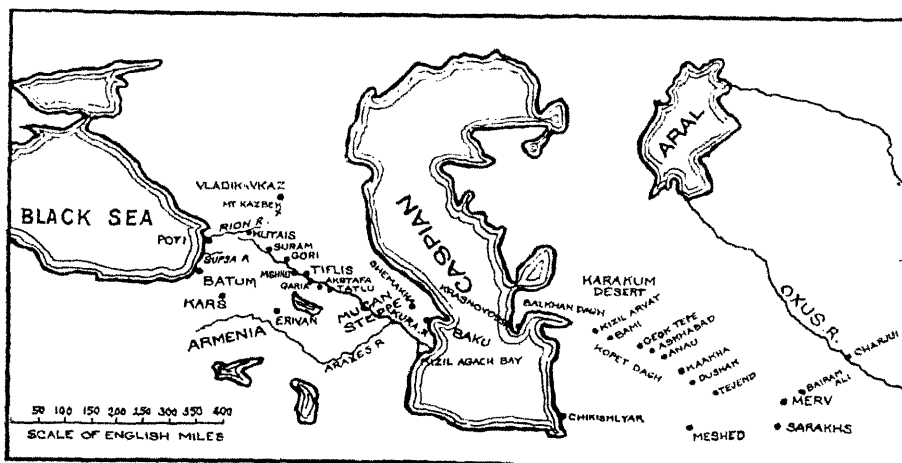


FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP SHOWING PREHISTORIC MOUNDS.

great extent as a through trade route owing to the difficulty at all times, and the impossibility in winter, of the section between Batum and Kars. In so far as the Araxes valley was in use in ancient times as a trade route, it seems probable that it was never more than a route by which northern Armenia maintained trade relations with the Caspian areas. From Tiflis the trade route from Colchis probably followed the course of the Kura to its junction with the Araxes and thence to the sea somewhere in Kizil Agach bay.

From Tiflis to Baku the railway follows closely along the Kura valley, and signs of prehistoric habitation appear on the low fertile steppe country that begins to open out about ten miles south-east of Tiflis.

The first mound in this area is about twenty-five miles south-east of Tiflis between the Kura and the village of Qaria Nagargho, a little north of Karayazi station. It is about two hundred metres long but hardly more than eight metres in height,¹ and resembles, in general outline, the larger sites in the plain of Larissa in Thessaly, such as Rakhmani. From this site to Akstafa, about thirty-five miles south-east of it, no other mounds were visible for a distance of at least twenty miles north and south of the Kura.

At Akstafa, however, is a cemetery² situated on what appears to be a tumulus on the left bank of the Akstafa river midway between Akstafa and the large iron bridge by which the railway crosses the Kura.

Some five miles south-east of Akstafa and just south-west of Tatlu are three large mounds, two on the right bank and one on the left bank of the stream which passes through Tatlu to the Kura. All these mounds are long and flat-topped and of about the same dimensions as the Qaria mound.

From a point about ten miles beyond Tatlu up to Sagiri on the Mugan steppe I had no opportunity of seeing the country and consequently cannot say whether there are any mounds in the intervening area. From Sagiri to Baku no mounds are visible and modern villages become scarcer. Throughout, the valley of the Kura consists of wide and open steppe land almost entirely devoid of trees. As Baku is approached and at the point where the Kura runs close to the spurs of the Caucasus that project south-east from Shemakha, the country becomes more and more barren and rocky and devoid of almost every kind of vegetation. In the neighbourhood of Sangachili the oil-fields of Baku commence and the scenery becomes barren and forbidding in the extreme. Irrigation dykes and canals are fairly common everywhere. In the upper part of the Kura valley sheep and buffaloes are to be seen in large numbers. In the

¹ These measurements are, of course, approximate.

² This cemetery consists of about fifty monoliths and ten or fifteen large obelisks. The monoliths are all pillars of the crystalline basalt which occurs in many parts of the Caucasus range, but principally near Mount Kazbek. The obelisks are carefully built of trimmed stone, and stand about 6 feet high. Two similar obelisks occur near Sodon on the northern slopes of the Caucasus, south-west of Vladikavkaz. Both belong to the year 1774 and are the tombstones of Tatar 'Lords of the Marches,' in the territory of the Ossetes (see Klaproth, *Voyage au Mt. Caucase et en Georgie*, 1823, vol. i. p. 451). Monoliths are typical of Ossetian burials (see Klaproth, vol. ii. p. 259), but are for the most part characteristic of Moslem and not of Christian burials. The Akstafa cemetery is thus probably of Tatar origin.

lower part caravans of camels were common. Along the upper Kura the normal type of dwelling consists of a low semi-subterranean building with a roof of peat and earth supported by wooden beams. Small villages consisting of from ten to twenty of these dwellings occur every few miles. They belong for the most part to Tatars. Along the lower Kura and on the Mugan steppes, dwellings are no longer of this subterranean type. There are the ordinary nomad shelters of a temporary nature, made of felt and skins, and low square mud one-storied houses of the type common in the Tiflis area.

2.—TURKESTAN.¹

The trade route from Colchis to the Caspian could join up either with the Persian trade routes which emerge on the Caspian in the neighbourhood of Asterabad, or with the direct route from Central Asia which emerges in Balkhan Bay.

Here, as in the Caucasus, routes are rigidly limited by geographical features and the Central Asiatic railway follows, at least as far as Merv, the only possible route south of Lake Aral. The general alignment of this route is south-east from Krasnovodsk on the Caspian to Dushak and thence east-north-east to Merv. That this was, in fact, a well-used route in antiquity is proved by the frequent occurrence along its length of prehistoric mounds and mediaeval forts. It runs for the most part along the edge of the foothills of Kopet Dagħ, with the Karakum Sands, an almost impassable desert, to the north and mountains almost equally impassable to the south. It remains to-day the only practicable route for the trade of Central Asia and northern Afghanistan and is the route by which the carpets of Bokhara, Herat, Samarkand and the Turkoman lands reach Baku. In Skobeleff's campaigns of 1870 it was the only practicable route for military expeditions against the Turkomans, and the fort of Geok Tepe, where the Turkomans made their final stand, lies on the railway itself.

From Balkhan Bay to Kizil Arvat the country is rough, barren and devoid of vegetation and in general of the same type as the country round Baku. From Kizil Arvat to Dushak the desert and foothills show signs of

¹ The only scientific excavations carried out in Turkestan are those of the American expedition of 1908, at the prehistoric site of Anau, some fifteen kilometres east of Ashkhabad. See Pumpelly: *Exploration in Turkestan*, 1905 and 1908 (2 vols.).

greater fertility. The desert itself, being alluvial soil, can be cultivated over an area which is not more in extent than a few miles to the north of the Kopet Dagh foothills, cultivation depending on the canalisation of waters brought down from the mountains. Beyond this zone, cultivation, owing to the lack of water, is possible only in oases.

Near the village of Bami, about thirty miles south-east of Kizil Arvat, is a group of three mounds, all long and low but small and without clearly marked flat tops. There is one other mound about three miles to the west and another three miles to the east of this village. Geok Tepe is a large mud-walled enclosure still in good preservation. About six miles to the east of the fort is a group of about seven mounds. Some of these are barely raised above the surface of the plain and may be recent or mediaeval sites. Others are high and flat-topped, one in particular being of exactly the same type and of approximately the same dimensions as the large mound at Kalamaria near Salonika.¹ (Pl XI., 2.) There appear to be no mounds in the vicinity of the town of Askhabad. (From here to Kaakha I was unable to record any observations.)

At Dushak, which is important for the fact that one of the few passes over the mountains runs from here to Meshed in North Persia, there is a group of five large flat-topped mounds between the railway and the foothills, and there is another group of five large mounds of the same type just north of the railway, about five miles to the west of the village. The plain near Dushak is very fertile and grassy. Between Dushak and Tejend no mounds are visible and the plain begins to lose its fertile aspect and becomes mere sandy desert on which the only vegetation is camel-thorn. Between Tejend and New Merv the desert proper begins and no mounds are visible.²

Old Merv, the ancient Antiocheia, the mediaeval "Queen of the Earth," is situated at Bairam Ali and extends over a very large area north of the railway. The land in the immediate vicinity of the town is watered by the river Murghab (the ancient Margus) which divides it into a large number of irrigation streams. A few miles east of Bairam Ali,

¹ The mounds are usually 100 to 200 feet long, and 30 to 50 feet high. See Pumpelly: *op. cit.* I. p. 7.

² On the French map published by the 'Service Géographique de l'Armée' (1901), a very large number of mounds are shown along the line of the River Tejend (the ancient Arius) between Tejend and Sarakhs and along the foothills. I was unable to verify any of these.

however, the sandy desert begins again and continues as far as the banks of the Oxus.¹

From the above evidence, regrettably scanty though it is, it seems probable that the present route by railway from Batum to the Caspian and from Krasnovodsk to Merv corresponds approximately with the main highway of commerce from the east to the west used in antiquity. The section of the railway from Alyat to Baku breaks away from the old route which undoubtedly went down to the mouth of the Araxes and the commencement of the route in Colchis was more probably at Poti (the ancient Phasis ²) than at Batum.

The present route in Transcaspia corresponds more exactly with the ancient route, though it is doubtful whether Balkhan Bay or the town of Chikishlyar was the Caspian terminus of this route in antiquity. From Bami onwards the presence of prehistoric mounds and other sites in abundance fixes the route with tolerable certainty.³

S. CASSON.

¹ I was not able to get farther east than a point three miles west of Ravnini (*i.e.* about 100 miles west of the Oxus).

² For the identification of this and other ancient sites in Colchis, see *Οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν Καυκάσῳ* by I. H. Καλφογλοῦ (1908), p. 21.

³ The site at Anau, excavated by Mr. Pumpelly, was clearly situated on this trade route. The connection with the West was shown both by (*a*) anthropological and (*b*) archaeological evidence:—

(*a*) Professor Sergi, reporting on the Anau skulls, sees no material difference between them and skulls of the Mediterranean variety. There is no trace of anything Mongolian about them. He concludes: "The results shown give a certainty to my hypothesis of some years ago on the probable penetration into Central Asia of one branch of the Mediterranean variety." Pumpelly, *op. cit.* Vol. II., p. 446.

(*b*) Armenian obsidian, a copper sickle of the same type as those found in the 6th city of Troy, and some pottery types that recall those of Europe, all provide links with the West.

SAINT GERASIMOS AND THE ENGLISH ADMIRAL.

IN the spring of 1917, during the blockade of Greece by the fleets of the Entente Powers, a pamphlet,¹ of which a translation is given below, was published in Athens by one Georgios Papagiannakopoulos, describing the great miracle wrought by Saint Gerasimos on behalf of the island of Cephalonia, of which he is patron, at the expense of the admiral of a British fleet said to have then been anchored in the bay of Argostoli, the capital of the island.

Saint Gerasimos, who, like his brother Saint Dionysios of Zante,² is of comparatively recent date, and Hosios (*Beatus*), not Hagios (*Sanctus*), was born of the great family of Notaras, at Trikala in the Morea, on August 15th, 1500. It is remarkable that two of the largest Ionian Islands should have chosen for their patrons modern saints sprung from great local families ; for Saint Dionysios was a son of the house of Sygouros. Cynics suggest that the islanders thought that scions of the local gentry would be better representatives of their interests at the Court of Heaven than other saints of greater renown but of foreign birth.

When twenty years old Saint Gerasimos left home and went to Zante, but not finding there what his soul desired, travelled throughout Greece to Constantinople and Mount Athos, where he took vows as a monk and wandered from monastery to monastery like a bee, collecting lessons of asceticism and virtue. Then he visited the Holy Sepulchre, Egypt, Assyria, Barbary, and other countries, returning to Jerusalem, where, after

¹ Τὸ Μέγα Θαῦμα τοῦ Ἁγίου Γερασίου πρὸς τὸν Ἄγγλον Ναύαρχον : a copy is in the library of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

² Ζῶτος Μολοσσός, Δεξικὸν τῶν Ἁγίων, p. 402.

serving at the Holy Sepulchre for a year without pay, he was ordained deacon and priest by the Patriarch. He served as priest there for twelve years more, and then went to the monastery of Saint Savvas, where he fasted for twenty days in the desert of Jordan sustained only by the Divine Grace. Presently he left Jerusalem, and after visiting Crete, came to Zante and there lived as a hermit for five years. Thence he proceeded to Cephalonia, where first he dwelt as a hermit in a cave on the hillside above Argostoli, but as he was there troubled by the multitudes who came to see him for the benefit of their souls, he departed and took up his abode in the valley of Omala on Mount Aenus, where he rebuilt a ruined church and named it New Jerusalem. Here the chief men of the village, seeing his asceticism, entreated him to undertake the protection of their daughters, who had grown old without being married, and make the monastery a House of Virgins. The holy man, following the apostolic injunction to bear the burdens of the weak, brought together fifteen nuns, whom, for thirty years, he led more by his example than by his teaching to fast and keep vigil. 'Having cleansed himself in body and soul, washing away every stain by his tears, he reached the height of sanctity, becoming the possessor of the Holy Spirit, and received while yet alive the grace of miracles; he made rains descend from above, he healed those possessed of devils, devils he bound below the earth, he healed difficult diseases, restored the paralysed, and gave back his soul to God on August 15th, 1579.'¹

The House of Virgins founded by Saint Gerasimos still flourishes, and there his body is preserved in a silver shrine in the church. At one time on the day of his festival his body was conveyed with great pomp and ceremony across the bay of Argostoli and back again, but now it is taken twice a year in solemn procession round the town and accorded full honours by the civil and military authorities. This occasioned some trouble once during the British occupation, when British troops used to furnish a guard of honour, because a Highland regiment, all staunch Presbyterians, declined to present arms to the saint or take any part in such Popish practices. The Ionian Islanders believe that if their patron saints did not come out at regular intervals to walk round and to bless² their respective islands dire calamities would result, for Saint Dionysios at

¹ Ζῳῆτος Μολοσσῶς, *Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἀγίων*, pp. 351 ff.

² J. Ansted, *Ionian Islands*, p. 399.

Zante and Saint Spyridon at Corfu are also similarly paraded round the cities of which they are patrons.¹

The miracle wrought at the expense of the English admiral was not the first by any means to be attributed to Saint Gerasimos, for they were once very common at his shrine. Professor Ansted, for instance, says²: 'Miracles, more especially miraculous cures of maniacs and persons supposed to suffer from demoniacal possession, were here so common that the place became in the highest degree attractive. Lazy scoundrels, simulating madness, were allowed to come and feed for awhile at the expense of the establishment, and when tired of this kind of life they would pretend to become cured by the interposition of the saint. Women also took up their abode in the principal apartments, and there, separated from their husbands and friends, received some favoured suitor, either lay or clerical. At length the affair became notorious, and the British Resident thought it necessary to interfere. He paid a visit one day unexpectedly, performed a series of unexpected miracles on the sham maniacs, and made a clearance of the whole establishment. It is now respectable enough.'

The pamphlet concerning the latest miracle alleged to have been performed by Saint Gerasimos runs thus:—

'Great indeed was the astonishment caused the day before yesterday by the announcement of the *Chronos* about a great miracle, which had been wrought at Cephalonia by Saint Gerasimos on the English admiral.

'For this reason we have decided to publish it in a pamphlet, in which we can add some special information as well.

'The *Chronos* writes as follows:—"Last week the English Consul saw in his sleep an aged monk who told him, 'Go to the English Admiral and tell him to leave the island with the whole fleet, after he has first taken care to supply the island with provisions.' The Consul indeed, very early in the morning, went to the Admiral and explained to him in detail what he had seen in his sleep.

"The Admiral not only did not believe what the Consul said, but laughed at him for his credulity. The next night, however, the Admiral saw as in a vision the same monk, who said to him, 'Go to Mr. Magias, the merchant, and ask him to show you who is Gerasimos.' In the morning the Admiral, somewhat disturbed in mind, could not do otherwise than

¹ Schmidt, *Zakynthos*, pp. 107 ff.; Goodisson, *Essay on Islands of Corfu*, etc., pp. 37 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 341.

go thither, whither the saint had bidden him. And he actually went to Mr. Magias and asked him to show him who this Gerasimos was. Then Mr. Magias with great thankfulness took the Admiral and led him to the monastery, where the relic of the saint is kept. Now after they had entered the church and advanced to the end of it, Mr. Magias, addressing the Admiral and at the same time pointing out the saint to him with his hand, said, 'Admiral, here is the Gerasimos whom you asked me to show to you.' Then the Admiral saw him from close at hand and cried with a loud voice and said 'It is he!' and, according to my own information, ran towards the outside of the church crying for help. But he was not able to go out of the church, because of the mental disturbance which had seized him, and fell fainting on the ground, and only with difficulty did they succeed in carrying him back to his flagship in a sad state.

"Now the next day after he had come to himself the Admiral gave orders and a grainship sailed in, which after unloading the grain sailed away. At the same time all the English squadron moored there sailed away to Corfu, and the whole of Cephalonia is excited and relates with great enthusiasm this great miracle through which the island was saved from the famine, that had been its scourge for so long.

"Before, however, the Admiral departed he gave orders and a great *Te Deum* was celebrated, at which detachments from the fleet were present with the band, and he himself also was present till the end of the *Te Deum*.

"In such a manner did Saint Gerasimos triumph and glorify yet once again the Christian Religion.

"Wherefore we ought all to have our hopes in God, and He and He alone will be able to bring us victoriously through the present straits into which we have fallen."

This pamphlet had a political and not a religious object. When it was issued the blockade of that portion of Greece still dominated by King Constantine, had been in force for three months or more. Venizelos was at Salonika and, enjoying the support of the Entente Powers, was gaining adherents daily. King Constantine and his partisans, seeing no way out of their difficulties and merely wishing to gain time in the hope that something might yet turn up, were endeavouring to comfort the Greeks they still ruled because they were beginning to murmur under the blockade which the Entente had imposed till its demands for satisfaction should be carried out. Every means was adopted by the Constantinists to revive the

enthusiasm of their wavering supporters. Time and again was it announced that the Germans had retaken Monastir and were marching on Larissa. Another time it would be said that a vast fleet of submarines had broken the blockade, and that grain ships were sailing into Piraeus. In addition, they did not even hesitate to make use of the authority of the Church, and by the solemn anathema against Venizelos pronounced on December 12/25, 1916, by his Holiness Theokletos, Metropolitan of Athens, thought to make the superstitious believe that King Constantine and the Germans were the chosen instruments of God Almighty. The miracle thus attributed to Saint Gerasimos was part of this politico-religious propaganda. If saints such as he, just as well as submarines, could by the exercise of supernatural terror rout the British navy and raise the blockade, the people, though hungry, might yet believe that the star of King Constantine was still far from setting.

Without any desire to belittle the reputation of Saint Gerasimos, one must confess that this miracle is mythical, for there was no British fleet at Cephalonia at the time. The story is, however, extremely characteristic as a piece of political psychology throwing a sidelight on that troubled, but interesting, period of modern Greek history which ended with the abdication of King Constantine.

A. J. B. WACE.

THE FOLK-LORE OF A TURKISH LABOUR BATTALION.

FOR over a year I had charge of a Labour Battalion of Turks in the Struma valley in Macedonia. They were chiefly recruited from two villages in the hills west of the river. In the course of conversation with them I naturally discovered a good many items of their beliefs, which I jotted down from time to time; this does not claim, however, to be a scientific record.

Most of the details were supplied to me by a young Turk named Ali Mustafa, from a small village called Cherkess Keui near the Struma. His grandfather, like so many other Circassians, had left the Caucasus after the Russo-Turkish war, and had been planted by the Government in one of the many new villages which were formed for these immigrants. This particular village was very unhealthy, and in consequence there were only three of the original families left.

Practically everybody, Turk and Greek alike, believed in the power of human beings to change themselves into animals, though the ordinary Greek word *vrykolakas* (vampire) was rarely used. They knew the word, and would admit they knew it, and would talk fairly freely on the subject, but seemed to object strongly to using the actual word itself. The best authenticated case of such beings that I came across was that of two men from Homondos village under Serres and east of the Struma. These two men used to change into dogs, hares, and so on, but they specially seemed to like cats, being always accompanied by several cats which lived in their houses. When, just after the Balkan wars, one of the men died and his friends had dug his grave and were just going to lay the corpse inside, a

large cat ran up and jumped across the body, which promptly vanished. These two men were supposed to carry off children, cattle, etc., when in the form of animals. I said they did not appear to be very nice neighbours ; but the men of Hlamur, who told me the tale, said it did not matter to them as the vampires of Homondos could not cross the river (that is, running water). Incidentally these men, and all similar people, have sharp white teeth.

Besides vampires, all the people in the country had a firm belief in beautiful maidens who could be seen at night calling to men ; but if a man answered their call he would be at once torn to pieces. These maidens were as soft as cotton to the touch. Ali also told me there were lots of witches in the land who could draw down the moon ; he had never actually seen it done, but he knew plenty of people who had seen it. The witches also put spells on cattle, etc., especially on the best of the flock ; to spoil the effect of the spells one tied garlic to the animals or put splotches of red paint on them, both methods being equally efficacious.

Ali had a tale about a man who was killed in the river bed of the Kopach stream near his home ; soon after Ali and his brother happened to be tending a flock of goats near when they heard groans, and on approaching the spot found blood gushing out of the sand of the river bed. This continued for some days, till a thunderstorm filled the river with water and washed the blood away.

There were many tales of buried treasure in the valley, especially on the site of the old Greek town at the 70th kilometre on the Serres road. Here there was a famous fig tree which marked the site of an old church, and below the tree was said to be a buried treasure ; but if anyone found this he would at once become mad. No one had found it, however, up to date. Similarly on the top of the low hill above Orliak village treasure was buried. A certain hodja had actually dug and found a large underground room full of treasure, but at the moment when he was about to take it a beautiful maiden white as cotton (a common simile in the valley for anything white) had appeared and the treasure had vanished.

Such were a few of the beliefs of the people of the Struma valley, Greek and Turk alike ; the hodjas always asserted such things used to happen in the bad days before the Turks came but had now quite ceased ; still it was easy to see they really believed them.

In this connexion may be mentioned a curious burial custom ; several

Turks died in my camp, and I attended the funerals in my official capacity. After the body had been laid in the grave the hodja stepped in and laid a plank on the dead body, touching the face. He then knelt on the plank ; at the same time the bystanders shouted out the dead man's name, and the hodja put his face down close to the dead man's ear and seemed to whisper something ; this happened three times, then the grave was closed. The people say that when the dead man's name is shouted he tries to sit up, but the plank hits his head and he falls down again. The hodja also whispers to him that he is dead ; at the third time the corpse realises that he really is dead. The idea evidently is to keep the dead man from rising and haunting people.

The land was usually held on the *chiftlik* system—that is to say, there was a large estate owned by a rich bey, who usually lived in Serres. There was one large group of buildings (the *chiftlik*) built in the form of a square. The land was cultivated by labourers who received no wages but took a third of the crop and lived in the small buildings of the *chiftlik*. In the hills, however, the land was held by small proprietors. On a man's death each grown son took an equal share, but small boys took a double share ; daughters had no share, but were usually kept by their brothers till marriage. A widow had to be kept by her sons, though they could always send her home after giving her the wedding portion which she brought into the family. One curious custom was that if a man died leaving no sons, his nephews succeeded, but only if they were sons of a younger brother, not if they were sons of an elder brother.

The many sites of old Greek towns in the district were called *Pashalis*, and it was said they had been made by the old Pashas as places of refuge, in the days of old when the country was full of bad men.

F. B. WELCH.

A BRITISH OFFICER ON ACTIVE SERVICE, 1799.

THE letters here published were written by Major John Finlay R.E. to his wife during his absence on active service in the Netherlands in 1799 and form part of the Finlay papers preserved with the library of his son George Finlay, the Philhellene and Historian, in the British School at Athens.

John Finlay was the eldest of the numerous family of James Finlay, merchant and manufacturer, of Argyle Street, Glasgow, and of Abigail Wharry his wife. He was born there in 1757 on September 18th, and entered Glasgow University as a student in 1770. Later he adopted the army as his profession and received his commission in the Royal Engineers on May 25th, 1790. He served in the West Indies, and among his papers are some sketches made there and dedicated to his patron the Duke of Richmond, then Master General of the Ordnance, as well as plans for attacking various places held by the enemy in America, including Buenos Ayres. It would be interesting to know if it was John Finlay's scheme that was ultimately put into execution so disastrously. He was devoted to science and was a Fellow of the Royal Society; his books and papers show that in particular he paid much attention to botany, and the fourth letter below shews that he did not neglect it even on active service. On June 24th, 1797 he married Helen Thomson, daughter of George Thomson, [merchant of Glasgow, and to her these letters are addressed. Their eldest son James Charles was born in 1798 (died June 15th, 1805) and their second son George, Philhellene and Historian, on December 21st, 1799. Further details of John Finlay's military career are not obtainable, but he lost a leg in the service, for on January 20th, 1798, he wrote to the Board of Ordnance: 'I have the honour to report that I have so far

recovered since the amputation of my Knee, as to find myself able to undertake the discharge of my Duty as Inspector of the Royal Manufacture of Gunpowder.' He seems to have been in charge of the Royal Powder Factory at Faversham in Kent from about this date, except for his short absence on active service in 1799, till his death in Glasgow while visiting relations there on June 26th, 1802.

The British Expedition to the Netherlands in which Major Finlay took part is described in some detail by Sir Archibald Alison in his *History of Europe*.¹ Napoleon was then (1799) absent in Egypt and the states allied against him had planned a united offensive along the whole front from the Netherlands to Venetia. A strong Russian army under the veteran Suvarroff co-operated with the Austrians under the Archduke Charles. The French, defeated on the Rhine and driven from Italy, were hard put to it to maintain themselves in Switzerland, the invasion of which had made them very unpopular. The allied plan of campaign very nearly met with decisive success; and, but for the territorial ambitions of the Aulic Council at Vienna which impeded the operations in Italy, and the natural jealousies between the Russians and Austrians, the French armies might have been completely defeated while Napoleon was still in the east. The right wing of the allied attack was to be formed by a joint British and Russian expedition to the Netherlands, where it was hoped to bring about a national rising in favour of the Prince of Orange to overthrow the Batavian Republic established by the French. The Treaty between Great Britain and Russia signed on June 22nd, 1799 laid down that the latter should furnish seventeen thousand and the former twenty-five thousand men, that the whole British Navy should be employed in support of the operations and that forty-four thousand pounds per month should be paid from the British Exchequer for the expenses of the Russian force. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was at first in command of the expedition, won some success; the Helder and the Texel were taken, the Dutch fleet handed over and a French attempt to drive the invaders into the sea was defeated with heavy loss. After the Russians arrived between September 12th and 15th the Duke of York took chief command. His first attack on September 19th though it opened successfully, failed ultimately owing to a reverse to the Russians. The Duke however

¹ Ninth edition, vol. iv., pp. 284 ff. Cf. *History of the Campaign of 1799 in Holland* (London, 1801).

attacked again on October 2nd and gained a victory, taking Alkmaar. Another attempt some days later to advance and take Haarlem in order to secure the footing of the allies in the north of Holland failed after a hot and evenly contested action. Following on this the unfavourable weather, the reinforcements received by the enemy and the news of the ill-success of the main allied offensive in Switzerland compelled the Duke of York to fall back to his old line and allow the French to re-occupy Alkmaar. The position of the Duke's army now became precarious owing to the reasons already given, coupled with the ill-health of the troops and the shortage of supplies, and after some negotiations a suspension of hostilities was arranged to allow the British and Russians to evacuate Holland. This was carried out before December 1st on terms which confessed that this great expedition, the greatest so far sent out by Great Britain during the war, had after an initial success ended in miserable failure.

Besides the letters we also possess John Finlay's note book from August 5th, when he first joined the expedition, to August 25th, when he landed in Holland. His kit was as follows:—

'Books: Vauban, *Conduite des Sièges*; Deidier, *Parfait Ingénieur Français*; Muller on Attack and Defence; Hutton on Mathematics, 2 Vol.; *Homeri Odyssea Gr. et Lat.* (not taken); Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Juvenalis et Persius; Fourth Volume of Journal.¹

¹ 1 Pair White Worsted Stockings, 3 Pair White Cotton Stockings, 2 Pair Blue Fleecy Stockings, 2 Pair New White Silk Stockings, 4 Pair Old White Silk Stockings, 3 Pair Brown Cotton Gloves, 3 Nets, 3 Night Caps, 18 Shirts, 18 Pocket Handkerchiefs, 2 Flannel Shirts, 3 Pair Flannel Drawers, 4 Towels, 4 Pillow Slips, 2 Pair of Sheets, 2 Uniform Vests, 6 White Vests, 1 Pair of Warm Gloves, 2 Black Stocks, 2 Pair Leather Breaches, 4 Small Strips of Flannel, 1 pair Blue Overalls, 1 Pair Blue Pantaloon, 2 Pair Uniform Breaches, 1 Pair Leather Gloves, 2 Uniform Coats, 2 Razors in a Case, Shaving Box, Case of Instruments, Flannel

¹ In this is his account of his journey in Holland in 1788 (May and June) referred to in the second letter below. The passage in his Journal begins:—'The Master General of the Ordnance, being desirous of information respecting the posture of defence in which the Maritime Towns of the United Provinces at present are, directed Lieut. Col. Moncrief and I to make a Tour among them and make a Report to Him upon the Subject. Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Douglas, who had extensive Connections in Holland and who meditated a visit to that Country, was requested to accompany us and give us as much assistance as he could with propriety do.'

Roller, Spare Screws, Army List.' His Journal gives a few details which help to fill out the story of the first letter :—

' *Monday, 5th August.*—Left Norton Court soon after Two o'Clock P.M. and arrived at Gravesend about Six in the Evening. Found the Officers of the Artillery and Engineers ordered on the Expedition at Dinner at the Falcon.

' *Tuesday, 6th August.*—In the Morning I went along with the Officers of Engineers on board the Butterworth of 390 Tons Capt. Patterson which was the Transport intended for us. Returned about 3 P.M. and called upon Lt. Col. Fisher. Dined at the Falcon at Gravesend and returned to the Butterworth about Eight in the Evening.

' *Wednesday, 7th August.*—Many of the Transports weighed & sailed soon after Five o'Clock this Morning. About half past Twelve the Butterworth weighed and dropt down with the Tide. . . . '

On Friday the 9th August his ship anchored off Deal and for the latter part of that day he records :—

' About half past Seven o'Clock in the Evening in consequence of a Letter from Major Hay I went ashore at Deal to the Three Kings. About Ten at Night I received Dispatches from Sir Ralph Abercrombie & Mr. Dundas¹ for Lord Duncan and about Eleven saw Admiral Mitchell who gave directions that a Cutter should convey me to Lord Duncan's fleet off the Texel.

' *Saturday, 10th August.*—Soon after Four o'Clock in the Morning I was called upon by Capt. Houghton of the Iris, but it was Seven o'Clock before I left Deal & got on board the Hound Revenue Cutter Capt. Hockings. A Pilot for the North Sea (Mr. Cunningham) was put on board with us. We stood towards the Iris where we received Mr. Lindsay one of her Lieutenants and then having got some of my baggage from the Butterworth we made sail towards the N.E. with a fresh Breeze. . . . '

He delivered his despatches the next day, when he remarks :—

' A little before Four in the Afternoon having come in well with the Fleet Lt. Lindsay & I went on board the Flag Ship the Kent. After delivering my Dispatches and having a long private conference with Lord Duncan we left the Kent about a Quarter past Eight and having got on

¹ First Lord of the Admiralty, afterwards Viscount Melville.

board the Hound made sail from the Fleet. The Ratvizan a Russian Line of Battle Ship spoke us as we went off.'

He delivered the return despatches on the 14th August, under which date he says:—

'At Sunrise we saw 4 Sail in the S.E. quarter and presently afterwards got sight of the remainder of the Expedition Fleet amounting to upwards of 170 Sail. About 40 Sail containing the Staff Horses, the Cavalry &c. have been sent to alarm the Coast of Flanders.

'A little after Six o'Clock in the Morning I went on board the Iris and delivered the Dispatches I received from Lord Duncan to Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Before Mid-day I left the Iris and I went on board the Butterworth.'

The rest of this journal is of no interest as it merely gives particulars of wind and weather while lying off the Dutch coast waiting to land, and it breaks off on the 25th August, presumably the day he landed. The remainder of the book is blank save for a few rough pencil plans of redoubts and other fortifications.

The letters are as follows:—

I.

DEAL Friday Eleven at Night

I snatch a few moments to acquaint my dearest Helen that I landed here this Evening, and am to be sent to Sea with secret Dispatches from Sir Ralph Abercrombie & Admiral Mitchel at four tomorrow Morning. When and where I shall join the Fleet again is uncertain: probably not until after they have sailed from England. God help you my dearest Helen. Kiss our dear little Boy, and believe me

Your ever affectionate Husband

JOHN FINLAY.

I shall not fail to write to You the moment I have an opportunity.

(Docketed 10th August 99.)

II.

HUIS DUIN 29th August 1799.

My dearest Helen will guess from the Paper I write upon that my accommodations are none of the best. They are however such as I am

now very glad of, for it is the first moment I have had material, or time to write since I landed. I got on Shore a few minutes after I closed my Letter to You from the Iris and a very hard days work we had. The Action was not over till past one o'Clock, and tho' our exertions have by the favor of God been crowned with complete success we have to regret the loss of a great many valuable Men & Officers. I am much grieved to say that our poor Friend Col. Hay was among the number of the killed. He fell about Eleven o'Clock and no Man ever fell more deeply regretted. My heart bleeds for Mrs. Hay and his family. Even to our Corps his loss is irreparable. But I will say no more on such a melancholy subject.

I have been fatigued to a degree You can scarcely conceive, as I have not had a Horse except during part of yesterday that I got one from Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the whole Country we have acted in is a deep sand in which one sinks to the ankle almost at every step. We have had no Beds but the Sand, and no Covering but our Great Coats and the Sky. My leg has not been off for the last 3 Nights. I am now sent to the Helder to fortify the old Position that Col. Moncrief & I examined in 1788, and as we have now complete possession of the Harbour, I trust we shall get our Horses & Camp Equipage landed today, and have less fatiguing Service. We have now about 14000 Men, and entertain no apprehensions from the Enemy, who have suffered so severely that I think it will be some time before they venture another Brush.

I expect soon to hear from General Morse, and if my service with the Army is not to prove usefull as well as honourable, I shall beg leave to make my Bow, and return to my sweet Helen and our dear Boy, for whose advantage alone I am labouring, and the hope of benefiting them makes every labour & danger seem light.

Kiss our dearest Boy a thousand times for me, remember me to all friends, and believe me, my dearest Helen,

Your ever affectionate Husband

JOHN FINLAY.

P.S.—I expect to get William with my Baggage ashore today which will add much to my comfort, as I have been there 3 days without a Servant or Cloaths.

III.

HELDER *5th September 1799*

MY DEAREST HELEN,

Whenever I have a moments leisure I shall employ it in writing to England. I am extremely anxious to hear from You, for altho' many Transports have arrived with Troops since we effected our Landing I have had no Letters from my love. I trust the next Vessel from England will bring me good Accounts of You and our dear Boy. I have my Hands as full of Business as I can manage, and indeed rather more than I can well get through. I am on Horseback every Morning before Six, and seldom get off till dark, when my Writing Business begins. My Mare will begin to look thin if this Bustle lasts long, which I hope it will not. I have a most motley Crew under my direction, English Soldiers & Sailors, Dutch Carpenters & Peasants, and the whole of the Dutch Deserters a Body that are daily increasing in numbers. The Works I am carrying on are charged to the Extraordinaries of the Army, so that I am Paymaster as well as Commanding Engineer, and shall have the trouble of becoming a Public Accountant, probably without making Money by it like Neighbour Montresor. Sir Ralph is very anxious I should soon put this Place in a respectable state of Defence, writes to me in a very friendly Stile, and gives me ample powers. Whether I shall get any permanent advantage by all this remains to be seen. If I am enabled by it to provide better for my dear Helen and our little Boy, I shall think my labours well repaid. If not I shall regret the sacrifice I have made of many Weeks Happiness by being far from those I love.

The Army are advanced about 16 Miles from us. The French & Dutch are in some Force near Alkmaar, and last night attempted to carry off one of our Pickets. They ran off however after a few shots were fired, & we had only one Man wounded. This Afternoon the 11th Light Dragoons went forward to the Army. They will be of great service and enable it to extend its Quarters. It has hitherto been much cramped from the superiority of the Enemy in Cavalry, which I trust will now be done away.

I suppose the Fleet will leave us in a few Days, & I trust will carry all the Prizes safe home with them. I suppose some Day we may be sharing 1^s/6^d a piece for Prize Money. The Dutch confess they had

5000 engaged on the 27th, 1000 of which were killed & wounded. They had 2000 more upon our Left in the Helder. I do not think we had above 8500 Men ashore that day, and the Enemy had as strong a Position as can well be imagined. They pretend (as the French always do) that their Generals were bribed by *de Engelsche Guinée*, and that by that means we beat them. I suppose our Army near Alkmaar will in a day or two try whether their Generals are always bribed. Tell me every thing about You and our little Darling. How does Rion do? Remember me to all friends and believe me, my dearest Helen,

Your ever affectionate Husband

JOHN FINLAY.

IV.

HELDER 22nd September 1799

A thousand thanks to You my dearest Helen for Your Letters of the 21st August, and 12th of September which I have had the pleasure to receive. The latter is just arrived. I suspect from what You mention in it that some intermediate Letter of Yours is yet upon its passage, for You speak of Your Father as having been at Faversham, without having told me of his arrival. I trust I shall receive it in a day or two,—I am infinitely obliged to my dearest Helen for Her wish to come out to me, and am sorry that I must desire her by no means to think of such a step. Not more than two Officers' Wives out of the whole Army have come out here, and You can scarce form an idea how uncomfortable their situation is. No, my dearest Helen, I will return to You the moment I can do so with credit, and without sacrificing the object that induced me to come with the Army; but I love *You* too well to wish You to come here. This place is yet too much the seat of War, and our hold of it too insecure, to be a safe or proper residence for Ladies. I am busy from Sunrise to Sunset in rendering it a safe Place of retreat for our Army in case it should fail in its attempt to penetrate into Holland; and I assure You my hopes of its success in that attempt are now much less sanguine than they were before the Duke of York's arrival. On the 19th it was repulsed with very great loss in an Attack upon the Enemy's Position. Sir Ralph Abercrombie with the Left of the Army succeeded completely & penetrated with little loss to the Town of Hoorn of which they took possession. The Russians who were upon our Right also succeeded at first & pushed

the Enemy as far as Berghen. They took the liberty however of spreading about a little for Plunder, suffered their Right Flank to be turned, gave way in confusion and lost 1700 Men killed & wounded, and about 1000 taken prisoners. The British Regiments that were brought up to support them also suffered severely, the town of Hoorn was obliged to be evacuated and the total Loss in our Army fell little short of 4000 Men. That of the Enemy was at least 6000, but they can recruit faster than we can.

24th Sept.

I have been prevented from finishing my Letter, by a long Report I had to make to the Duke of York upon the Defences of this Place. The Business of the 19th has much lessened our confidence in the Russians. They are eager to retrieve their character, but I must see a little better discipline amongst them before I think them likely to be very formidable to the old French Soldiers. Their unextinguishable love of Plunder will, I foresee, create to us many Enemies, and I own I should wish to see *half their* number of *such* Soldiers as we brought out with us, here in their room.—I have just now received Your Letters of the 3rd & 6th, with that from my friend Howorth, which I shall answer the first leisure moment I have.—I must again repeat my dearest Helen, that this is not a proper Place for You. A General Attack will I believe be made upon the Enemy's Lines very early tomorrow Morning. If it succeeds, we shall get Elbow room and be more quiet. If it does not, I should be little surprized to see the Army return to the Helder, and preparations made to re-imbark for England.—I am very glad Your Father has been at Davington. If it was not too late, I would advise You to go with him to Scotland, provided You thought that the journey would not hurt You and that our House could be safely left to itself. Without we are very successfull and get soon to Amsterdam and as far as Hellevoetsluis, I am more likely on my return to land at Yarmouth than at Deal, as I do not like a long Navigation at the close of the Year. In such case I could go on to Scotland and bring You back. I think the Ordnance could not well refuse me a Month or Six Weeks Leave of Absence.—I have received a Letter from General Morse, saying that as Lord Howe (late Sir William) did not chuse to decide upon the subject of my request to be removed from the Invalids, he had referred my Letter to Lord Cornwallis. I am daily in expectation of receiving Lord Cornwallis's determination.—I am

glad You are pleased with Your Neighbours Mr and Miss Tucker. He is a sensible looking Man, and I have often felt a wish to be acquainted with him.—How delighted I am to hear of our little Darling's welfare, and how much I wish to return to You and him. Kiss him a thousand times for me, and tell him Pap will come back as soon as he can.—I hope Mrs A. Thomson has paid You the visit She promised. Remember me kindly to Her, to Your Father, and to Your Uncle Andrew. Remember me also to Miss Ruck, and to Mr Wilks.—Amidst all the bustle & fatigues of War I have contrived to add one Plant to my Hortus Siccus. A very pretty species of *Pyrola* which I saw in a Marsh as I was visiting the Posts, and tho' alone, dismounted and picked it up. In the same Marsh also grew the *Parnassia palustris*, but as I had seen it before I did not take it home to dry.—I have two Engineers with me here, Mr Chapman, (who was wounded in the Leg on the 27th) and Mr. Gossett. They are both very fine Young Men. The former is yet unable to do Duty, but is recovering fast, and will I trust in a few days be able to give me some assistance.—I continue in perfect health, and have a most voracious Appetite, which is partly caused by much Exercise, and partly by the difficulty of procuring a good Dinner. Porter sells here at 2^s/ a Bottle, very indifferent Sugar at 3^s/ a Pound, and many other Articles in proportion. You may guess therefore that we do not fare very superbly in Eating & Drinking.—Adieu my dearest Helen, take care of yourself and our sweet Boy, and believe me to be,

Your ever affectionate Husband

JOHN FINLAY.

V.

HELDER, 5th October, 1799.

I have only time to tell my dearest Helen that the Army was successful in an Attack made upon the Enemy's Position of the 2nd Instant, and that the Town of Alkmaar was taken upon the 3rd. No Officer of Engineers was hurt, but in some Regiments the loss has been very considerable, particularly in the 92nd, in which (thro' a most infamous piece of treachery of the French) Lord Huntly himself was wounded, and about 350 Officers & Men killed or wounded. I believe the remainder of the honest Highlanders took *ample* revenge.

I have received no official Answer relative to the Application I made

in consequence of General Morse's Letter, but I *know* that the Duke of York has written in the strongest terms in favor of my Promotion, and has desired Mr. Dundas to use his influence to effect my being immediately placed in the Acting Corps. Whether His Royal Highness will be able to get the better of the Ordnance in this point, as Sir Ralph Abercrombie did in the other, a little time will shew; but in the mean time I do not see so immediate a prospect of returning to my dearest Helen as when I last wrote. The Campaign cannot however last a great while longer, for the Weather is very bad, and it is wonderfull how the Army can get on at all thro' such execrable Roads as it has to pass along.

I continue in perfect health, and am a perfect stranger to indigestion or lying awake at night. I bear both cold and fatigue better than when I first arrived here. *Practice makes Perfect*. The House I am in, is about ten times worse than Norton Court; the wind & rain comes in almost every where. I hope soon to get to better quarters, for I have lately received a re-inforcement of 300 Russians & 500 of the Prince of Orange's Troops, to the Works here, and expect to compleat them in a very short time.

I saw little Captain Honeyman of the Dordrecht yesterday. He looks as wise and intelligent as ever, and his conversation seems equally brilliant.

Kiss our darling Boy a thousand times for me, and believe me to be,
my dearest Helen,

Your ever affectionate Husband,

JOHN FINLAY.

VI.

HELDER, 20th October, 1799.

I wrote to You a few days ago, my dearest Helen, by General Moore, and since that time, I have had the pleasure to receive Your Letter of the 7th. I have great hopes that I shall have the happiness of embracing my dearest Helen a few days after She receives this, for our Business here is fast drawing to a close. Colonel Twiss arrived two days ago. He went up for a few hours to the Army, but returned in the Evening, and some other Engineers soon followed him here. We are all busily employed in fortifying this Place, not I trust with any idea of retaining it; but to cover the re-imbarkation of the Army, and to enable us to come off with as little loss as possible.—I have had a long and very friendly Letter

from the Duke of Richmond a few days ago. There have been so many difficulties thrown in the way of my returning into the Acting Corps of Engineers, that His Grace and others of my Friends are now endeavouring to procure for me a Pension, and permanent Rank of a Field Officer in the Army. The Duke wants that of Lieut.-Colonel but I suppose I must be satisfied with that of Major, and indeed it is as much as I have a right to expect. I should wish it as a Mark of the Commander-in-Chief's Approbation of my Service, but a Pension of 10*s* or 15*s* a Day would be a Mark of it, not *less* to my satisfaction, as it would enable us to lay by something for our Darling Boy.

I have only time to beg to be remembered to all friends who enquire after me, and to assure my dearest Helen, that I am,

Her ever affectionate Husband,

JOHN FINLAY.

The letters in themselves call for little comment. The first is already sufficiently explained by the extracts from the Journal given above. There are two allusions to his wooden leg; in the second he mentions the discomfort of wearing it in bed and in the fourth we see his love of botany overcome the difficulties of dismounting and mounting alone. The second letter refers to Abercrombie's brilliant action fought soon after the force landed and the fourth to the Duke of York's unsuccessful attack of September 19th, the failure of which was mainly due to the Russians, and Finlay's comments on their lack of discipline and on the disappointment they had caused, after so much was expected from them, strike a curiously modern note. The fifth letter refers to the success of the advance of October 2nd, when Alkmaar was taken, and the sixth and last letter indicates the imminent re-embarkation of the expedition, not surprising after his cautious remarks in the previous letter about the probability that the campaign would not last much longer. There are several touches which sound quite modern; for instance the usual accusations of treachery on the part of the enemy and of bribery against a defeated general, the praise of the Highlanders and of the British infantry in general, the anxiety about his pay and pension (Finlay was a Scotsman!¹) and the desire of officers' wives to be with their husbands while on active service. There is one commonplace of modern war,

¹ And so too were Abercrombie and Dundas, on whose influence he relies.

however, which is entirely lacking, the Censorship. A Censor would surely have stopped the first letter saying he was being sent off with secret 'dispatches' and would have suppressed his fears about the prospects of the expedition under the Duke of York's command, the particulars of casualties and other military details, the shortage of supplies and the price of porter. But on the whole the letters show that while the circumstances of war and of civilisation have changed for better or for worse, human nature has remained the same.

A. J. B. WACE

THE RISE OF MODERN SMYRNA.

THE sharp contrast which is apparent to-day between the fortunes of Smyrna and of her sister 'Churches of Asia' has long been brought into connection with the prophecies contained in the *Revelation* of S. John. While the apocalyptic messages to the other Churches are minatory or equivocal, Smyrna is favoured by the promise of a 'crown of life' on condition of 'faithfulness to the end,' a condition vaguely felt to have been fulfilled by the steadfastness under persecution of S. Polycarp and his companions in the second century of our era. Modern Smyrna is exuberantly prosperous: the other episcopal cities are either, like Ephesus, ruined and desolate, or, like Pergamus, reduced from international to purely local importance. The promises and prophecies of the *Revelation* are thus regarded as fulfilled, and it is tacitly assumed that the 'life,' *i.e.* the history and material prosperity of Smyrna, has been unbroken from Roman times to our own. This assumption has been endorsed, as both borne out by history and inevitable from geographical conditions, by so high an authority as Professor Ramsay. 'Smyrna,' he says, 'has continued ever since [Lysimachus] an unbroken history as one of the greatest cities of Asia'¹: and again—'from the sixth century onwards it was the only important harbour for inland caravan-trade on the west coast of Asia Minor. . . . It occupied the one indispensable situation.'²

When, however, we come to examine in detail such records of the history of the city as have come down to us, we shall find that her prosperity between Roman times and our own has been intermittent, that the strongly-marked periods of prosperity can be attributed to definite causes, chiefly political, and that the intervals between these periods are of more or less complete stagnation. The interest of the subject is more

¹ In Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. 'Smyrna,' p. 554.

² *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 265.

than merely local, since it has an important bearing on the commercial history of Asia Minor as a whole.

The present unique position of Smyrna as the great port of western Asia Minor, in reality depends on her ability to attract the trade-routes of two great valleys—those of the Hermus and Maeander—for neither of which her quays are the natural outlet. The caravans of the former would go naturally to Phocaea, those of the latter to Ephesus or Scala Nuova¹: to divert them to Smyrna, which stands midway between their natural outlets, artificial stimulus has always been necessary.

The rise of modern Smyrna can be dated pretty accurately from the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Her mediaeval history closes abruptly with the sack by Timour in 1402, or at latest with the abortive attempt of the Rhodian knights to re-establish a footing there in 1413.² Between this date and the beginning of the seventeenth century Smyrna figures but once, and that passively, in history. In 1472 a Venetian fleet under Mocenigo, raiding the coasts of Asia Minor, made its way into Smyrna bay and sacked the town. On this occasion, as a participant in the raid informs us, the invaders found there a rich booty, due to the fact that Smyrna had for a long period enjoyed immunity from war owing to her retired position off the main routes of navigation.³

It is clear that Smyrna at this date, so far from being the great staple of the trade between Asia Minor and Europe she afterwards became, had not even the minor importance of a frequented local outlet. It is not till the opening of the seventeenth century that we begin again to find notices of the city. Between 1472 and 1600, indeed, we cannot cite the name of a single traveller who put in there: up to this date Chios, not Smyrna, was the port at which ships called habitually on their way to and from Europe and Constantinople, as also between Constantinople and the Syrian and Egyptian ports. After 1600⁴ the number of travellers on these routes known to have visited Smyrna steadily increases, and half-way through the century her rivals are ousted and her predominance

¹ In 1657, when, as we shall see, the predominance of Smyrna was fully established, Scala Nuova is thought by a Smyrna merchant to be 'in every way as capable to be the mart of Asia the less as Smyrna itself' (B.M. *Add. MS.* 5489 f. 14).

² Ducas, 106.

³ 'Situata in un lunghissimo golfo e molto lontana dalla navigazione' (Coriolano Cippico in Sathas, *Mon. Hist. Hell.* vii. 274).

⁴ The first modern traveller known to have visited Smyrna is F. Arnaud (1602), for whose itinerary see *Florilegium de Vogues*, p. 471.

assured; Chios, though still frequented, becomes a secondary port of call.

The causes of the rise and sudden decadence of the port of Chios are worth examination. During the later Middle Ages, when only isolated points in Asia Minor remained in Christian hands, western shipping focussed on these isolated points in order to avoid the difficulties and anomalies of dealing directly with the Turks. As the Christian ports of the mainland fell one by one into Turkish hands, the trade of the west discarded them in favour of the still Christian ports of the adjacent islands, the governments of which had in several cases formerly held the heads of the mainland routes which debouched opposite. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, then, we find European trade with western Asia Minor concentrating in the Genoese ports of Chios and Mytilene (with its colony Phocaea, the last of the Christian ports on the mainland), just as a large part of the Syrian and Caramanian trade concentrated in Cyprus, which once held the mainland road-heads Adalia and Corycos.

Thus the place later occupied by Smyrna in relation to the trade-routes of the Hermus and Maeander valleys was held in late mediaeval times by Phocaea-Mytilene and Chios respectively. Phocaea fell to the Turks in 1455, Mytilene shortly after: Chios, last of all the Genoese possessions in the Levant, held out till 1566, a full century later. During this period of monopoly she evidently attracted to herself, in addition to the trade of the Maeander, that of the Hermus valley; both routes now brought their wares down to Cheshmé ('Passagio') to be ferried across to Chios for final shipment to the west.¹

Even after 1566 the trade concentrated in Chios was slow to disperse into other channels, owing to the considerations (1) that there was now no free Christian port left to take its place, and (2) that Turkish rule in Chios was comparatively lenient down till 1599, when an attempt by the Duke of Tuscany's fleet to free the island from the Turkish yoke led to an increase of severity and to the banishment of many of the wealthy Genoese families who had hitherto handled the western trade.²

The priority of Chios and the gradual encroachment of Smyrna on

¹ For the importance of Passagio as a commercial dépôt in 1472, see Cippico (*loc. cit.* 266). Earlier in the fifteenth century, Palatia (Miletus) seems to have held a somewhat similar position with regard to Chian trade (see Manuel Pilota Cretensis, ed. Reiffenberg, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de Namur*, iv. 376).

² For this incident in the history of Chios, see *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 138.

the trade between Turkey and the west is demonstrated by the history of our own consulate. The English, who were very little interested in Turkey before the foundation of the Levant Company under Elizabeth, had nevertheless a Genoese agent or correspondent at Chios at least as early as 1515.¹ In 1599 a merchant named William Aldridge was English consul there,² while the English consulate at Smyrna cannot be traced earlier than 1611, and was not finally established till some years later.³

During the first quarter of the century Smyrna definitely wrested from Chios her commercial predominance, diverting to herself the traffic which formerly went to Cheshmé, and in a few years reducing Chios to a quite insignificant position in the Levant trade. In 1657 already, a Smyrna merchant goes so far as to consider it 'a place of so inconsiderable Traffique that were it not for Geographie's sake it scarce deserveth the mentioning in a map of commerce.'⁴

The fact of the commercial decadence of Chios between the dates indicated is clearly proved: the main cause, *i.e.* her conquest by the Turks and its consequences, seems indisputable. The fact that Smyrna succeeded Chios as the chief port of western Asia Minor and the date at which the change occurred are equally clear; but the ultimate causes of the selection of Smyrna are more complicated and indeed difficult to discern.

Undue stress has certainly been laid on the natural advantages of Smyrna harbour. Though the port itself is safe and convenient, the great depth of the winding bay at the head of which the city stands is a distinct disadvantage for sailing-ships, though little felt since the coming of steam, whereas the natural harbours of Phocaea are both safe and handy for ships of limited tonnage. The disadvantages of Smyrna are

¹ British Museum, *MS. Cotton, Otho, C. ix.*; for the early trade relations of the English with Chios, see Arber's *English Garner*, i. 20-23, 33-37, 50-56.

² Dallam, in the Hakluyt Society's *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. Bent, 44.

³ It appears from G. Sandys' *Voyage* that there was no English consul at Smyrna in 1610. Consul Markham was there in the following year, but removed to Chios, leaving a *vice-consul* at Smyrna, in 1614; by 1622 he had returned as consul to Smyrna (M. Epstein, *Levant Company*, 214). The French consulate was removed from Chios to Smyrna in 1610 (Pillaut, *Consulats du Levant*, i. (Nancy, 1902).

⁴ B.M. *Add. MS.* 5849, f. 14; cf. the somewhat similar contemporary estimate of Tavernier, *Six Voyages*, i. vii. It is interesting to note that after the great earthquake of 1688, which threatened to be the end of Smyrna, Chios, among other candidates (Phocaea, Scala Nuova, and Magnesia) was proposed as an alternative port for the Turkey trade, and some forty French merchants actually left Smyrna for Chios (Rycaut, *Hist. of the Turks*, iii. 301; Egmont, *Travels*, i. 122).

made clear by the attempt made about 1650 by the French to introduce goods to Smyrna by way of Scala Nuova and thence overland,¹ and by the experience of the English traveller Turner, who, wishing to cross from Athens to Smyrna in 1814, was compelled to make his bargain for Phocaea, 'the boatmen not being willing to enter the port of Smyrna on account of the difficulty of escaping from it with a contrary wind.'² Without artificial stimulus Smyrna was likely to have remained, as she had been in 1472, 'lontana dalla navigazione,' safe but obscure.

As regards the artificial advantages enjoyed by seventeenth-century Smyrna, one, of negative character, is remarked by contemporaries which might easily escape notice. Under the Turkish administration Magnesia and Aidin were the great centres of the district; Smyrna was governed by a simple *cadi* and had no military importance. This undoubtedly made for greater freedom, since a *cadi* could easily be bribed, or, if obnoxious, removed by a discreet expenditure at Constantinople,³ whereas higher functionaries were less easily dealt with. Military insignificance was also an asset in the eyes of the foreign community. Our Smyrna merchant of 1657 is of opinion that 'Smyrna had never gott so much the start of Scala Nova only by its *former* freedom of egress and regress'⁴; he alludes of course to the then recent building of Sanjak Kaleh, a fort which, commanding the harbour-mouth, could thus detain ships at will, as was attempted, to the great disgust of the merchants, during the war of Candia.⁵

This comparative freedom from official obstruction was undoubtedly one of the causes of the selection of Smyrna as the seat of the foreign

¹ Geographical conditions were doubtless not the only factor; presumably the dues collected on goods landed at Scala Nuova *plus* the *octroi* tolls on entering Smyrna figured out together at less than the customs and other dues levied on goods brought to Smyrna direct by sea. There was probably some 'arrangement' with the authorities at Scala Nuova. The scheme was put down only by official intervention as prejudicial to the trade of Smyrna, an appanage of the Empress-Mother (see Monconys, *Voyage*, i. 431; Tavernier, *Six Voyages*, i. vii.; Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, 267; Tournefort, letter xxii.; cf. B.M. *Add. MS.* 5489, f. 14). In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, under the government of its local beys, Scala Nuova revived, and became, if not a rival to Smyrna, at least a considerable port of shipment for the wheat and other products of the Maeander valley.

² *Tour in the Levant*, iii. 360; cf. also Sonnini, *Voyage en Grèce*, ii. 328. Sestini, *Lettere à Ses Amis en Toscane* (Paris, 1719), ii. 450, iii. 33. Turner had personal experience of the difficulty of leaving Smyrna bay (*op. cit.* iii. 291 ff.).

³ Tavernier, *Six Voyages*, i. vii.

⁴ B.M. *Add. MS.* 5849, f. 14.

⁵ Tavernier, *Six Voyages*, 32.

consulates, of which four were established by 1621.¹ The support afforded by the capitulations to the European consuls and factories, and their wealth, gave them such power locally that some approximation to the old system of Christian ports on the borders of Mahomedan lands was attained. The concentration of the four consulates at Smyrna really assured her commercial future.

We are still at a loss to account for the steady increase in the commercial importance of Smyrna during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, a period during which she had considerable difficulties to contend with. In 1605, and again in 1624-5, the surrounding country was in a very disturbed state owing to 'rebellions,' an euphemism for brigandage on a large scale,² which must have seriously compromised the security of the caravan-routes. In 1623 a quarrel between the Venetian consul and some janissaries from the fleet ended in the looting of the European warehouses, and but for the intervention of the Capitan Pasha 'had finished the trade' of Smyrna.³ Yet it was precisely in these troublous years that Smyrna was gradually acquiring control of her most valuable export.

Persian silk, in spite of the length of the overland journey, begins about this time⁴ to come to Smyrna for shipment rather than to Alexandretta, the port of Aleppo, or to Trebizond.

The reasons for this apparent anomaly are various. Firstly, silk is a costly commodity in proportion to its bulk and weight, so that the expense of extra overland carriage is a minor consideration. Secondly, as regards the possible rival shipping-ports for Persian goods, Trebizond was excluded from direct dealing with Europe, since the Black Sea was at this time closed to western shipping.⁵ The route from Persia to Aleppo and Alexandretta was always difficult and dangerous, and Aleppo itself hampered by its inland position, which compelled merchants to keep up

¹ French, Venetian, English, and Dutch factories are mentioned by Deshayes in 1621 (*Voyage de Levant*, 343), and the four consuls a year later by Pacifique (*Voyage en Perse*, 10).

² Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osman. Reiches*, iii. 666, iv. 54; Knolles, *Turkish History*, 887.

³ Sir Thomas Roe's *Negotiations*, 114. In the same year Gedoyne (*Journal*, ed. Boppe, 153) found the town 'à demi ruinée et de peu d'importance,' and it had evidently experienced a serious set-back, since Lithgow in 1611 gives a much more favourable account (*Rare Adventures*, 155).

⁴ It is mentioned already in 1611 by Lithgow, and in 1621 by Deshayes.

⁵ This restriction was relaxed by the terms of the Treaty of Kainardjik (1774), and in the following century the trade of Trebizond began to revive (de Laborde, *Asie Mineure*, 6; Paton, *Egyptian Revolution*, ii. 418), affecting for the worse, as the latter author says, that of Smyrna.

a second establishment in the unhealthy and inconvenient port of Alexandretta. Further, the dues collected at Aleppo were high, and trade was still further handicapped by the arbitrary government of the pashas, who were expensive to bribe and so far from Constantinople as to render appeals to the central government useless.¹

The commercial importance of Aleppo had been for some years declining, owing to the development of the sea-route to India, but down to about 1600 it was still a great mart.² The Persian wars of 1589-1628, and in particular the capture of Bagdad by the Persians (1623) and the consequent diversion of Bagdad trade to the Persian Gulf,³ crippled its trade. It is precisely at this period that the rise of Smyrna is most marked.

Further, the silk trade and its carriage seem to have been in the hands of the Armenians of Persia, who had settled in force at New Julfa since 1607,⁴ and had probably colonies posted in the towns along the road through their own country towards Smyrna as far as Angora. The existence of an Armenian colony in Smyrna itself as early as 1567 is documented by the sumptuous tomb of a priest (*vartabied*) of that date which is still to be seen in the area of the modern Armenian Cathedral. This is, perhaps significantly, the earliest monument of modern Smyrna.

To sum up, the revival from obscurity of Smyrna in the seventeenth century may be attributed mainly to a combination of artificial circumstances, including the opportune depression of her rivals, which brought the fortunes of the city from nearly *zero* in 1600 to a unique position in

¹ See on this Cannemann, *De Mercatura Levantica Batavorum*, 130; and for arbitrary acts of the Turks at Aleppo, Rycault's *History*, 130, 172 ff. (1662, 1665). D'Arvieux (*Mémoires*, i. 44) makes the rapacity of the pashas the chief cause of the removal of Aleppo trade to Smyrna. Deshayes (*Voyage*, 343) singles out the extortionate customs. Yet the dues charged at Smyrna during the seventeenth century were by no means low (cf. Masson, *Commerce Français dans le Levant*, 419).

² See Knolles, *Hist. of the Turks*, 922; P. Russell, *Hist. of Aleppo*, ii. 3; and P. Masson, *Commerce Français dans le Levant*, 371 ff. The English had a consul here at least as early as 1596 (in this year George Dorington, see Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, ii. 59), and as late as 1635 Aleppo seems to have been considered a better consular post than Smyrna (cf. Epstein, *Levant Company*, 216). Aleppo began again to prosper, at Smyrna's expense, in the fifties of the last century (Paton, *Egyptian Revolution*, ii. 418).

³ Masson, *loc. cit.*; Pococke (*Descr. of the East*, ii. 1, 151) attributes the decay of the Aleppo silk trade to the Persian wars, 'when the silk formerly brought by the Armenians from Asia Minor to Aleppo began to go to Smyrna.'

⁴ For the development of the Persian silk trade under Shah-Abbas (1589-1628) and the Armenians' part in it, see Tavernier, *Six Voyages*, iv. vi. Armenians are mentioned in connection with the Smyrna silk market by Deshayes (1621) and Pococke.

Asia Minor by 1650. The deciding factor in her supremacy may probably be found in the establishment of the consulates of the western merchants, whose choice seems to have been decided by the comparative freedom of a small town and by the growing importance of the trade in silk.

Turning to the Middle Ages we find that the history of Smyrna is obscure or non-existent except during two periods. The earlier of these coincides with the Latin empire of Constantinople (1204-1261), when the seat of Byzantine government was temporarily transferred to Nicaea. The importance of Smyrna was at this time primarily strategic, since, Mysia and Troas being in the hands of the Latins, she held the road-head of the nearest line of communication between the Aegean and the temporary Byzantine capital. This strategic importance reacted on her commerce, as is seen from the contemporary concession granted by the Byzantines to the Genoese (1261)¹ and a few years later (1265) to the Venetians,² both of whom stipulate for the right to establish a trading-colony at Smyrna.

The second period is that of the Frankish occupation (1344-1402) during which Smyrna was merely a military outpost held with difficulty by western Christendom in Mahommedan Asia Minor. Her importance was thus again strategic and an attempt at a commercial revival proved a hopeless failure, owing both to the hostility of the surrounding country and the insecure position of the town itself, and to the established competition of Phocaea and Chios.³

We seem thus justified in concluding that the conditions which in the Hellenistic and Roman periods enabled Smyrna to rival Ephesus and surpass Clazomenae and Phocaea were likewise artificial. In earlier times, when more natural conditions prevailed, Smyrna was scarcely heard of, while Clazomenae (Vourla), not deep in the bay, but on the isthmus of the Erythraean peninsula, was prosperous, and Phocaea and Ephesus cities of first importance. The prosperity of Smyrna under the Romans probably depended on her selection as an administrative centre⁴ and imperial bounty with regard to tariffs and constructions; under the

¹ Sauli, *Imprese dei Genovesi in Grecia*, 250.

² Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden der Repub. Venedig*, iii. 71; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, iii. xx. 79.

³ For the history of this period, see Delaville le Roulx, *L'Occupation chrétienne à Smyrne 1344-1402* in *Florilegium de Vogüé*, 177-186 (also in *Mélanges sur l'Ordre de S. Jean*, art. xviii.); J. Gay, *Le Pape Clément IV. et les Affaires d'Orient*, 1342-52.

⁴ Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* v. 31; Livy, xxxviii. 39.

Diadochi similar material privileges were not improbably conferred on her by her titular founders.

In our own day the commercial supremacy of Smyrna in Asia Minor seems more than ever assured by her control of the railways serving the old valley routes. But in the event of a catastrophe, such, for instance, as the barring of the harbour by the silt of the Hermus,¹ Phocaea and Scala Nuova, equipped with modern quay-accommodation—a factor of enormously increased importance since the coming of steam—and branch railways from the two valleys, might resume the predominant positions of their ancient representatives.

F. W. HASLUCK.

¹ The fate of Miletus threatened to overtake Smyrna in the last century and the silting of the harbour seems to have been regarded as inevitable in the sixties (Van Lennep, *Asia Minor*, i. 16). The danger was averted by making a new artificial channel for the Hermus, the works being finished in 1890 (Kiepert, *Globus*, li. (1887) 150-2; Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, iii. 446).

LEMNOS¹

(PLATE XV.)

I.—HISTORY, B.C. 512 to A.D. 1920.

As a rule, it is extremely difficult to distinguish the boundary between legend and history. In the case of Lemnos, however, this difficulty does not arise chiefly owing to a lack of material, as very little is known about the early days of the island, and, as far as our knowledge goes at present, the first date in its history is B.C. 512. At this time it was still independent, and though, no doubt, Athenians lived in the island, there was no official connection between Lemnos and Athens. Athens was at war with Persia, and Darius sent Otanes, who was in command of the Persian forces on the sea coast of Asia Minor, on a punitive expedition. As a result of the invasion of Thrace and Macedonia by Megabazus, Lemnos with several of the other Aegean islands came under the Persian rule; but the islanders did not surrender without a struggle and put up a very gallant fight. The survivors of the battle were placed in charge of Lycaretus, brother of Maeandrius, tyrant of Samos.² Lemnos was not fated to remain under Persian rule for many years, for about B.C. 493 in the reign of Xerxes it was brought under the rule of Athens by Miltiades.³ He was at this time in the Thracian Chersonese, and recalling the famous quibble of the Lemnians in their negotiations with the Athenians after the raid during the festival of Artemis at Brauron,⁴ took advantage of the

¹ These notes on the history, places of interest and lists of birds and fishes of Lemnos were compiled by a naval chaplain (who was stationed at Moudros for three years) partly for his own information, partly as a means of interesting the men who were compelled by their service to spend weary months in 'the last place God made.' The transliteration of place-names is that adopted for the *Annual*, and does not always correspond with the transliteration used in the map, which is based on the Admiralty Chart.—*Ed.*

² Herod. v. 27.

³ Thuc. vii. 57.

⁴ Herod. vi. 137-140.

Etesian winds, sailed from Elaeus, near the modern Seddul Bahr, and landed in Lemnos. On his arrival he proclaimed that he had fulfilled the Athenian part of the agreement, and required the Lemnians to acknowledge the lordship of Athens, according to their promise. The citizens of Hephaestia, the chief town in the island, acknowledged the justice of his demands and surrendered with as good grace as they could, no doubt on account of the difficulty of defending their city. Myrina (the modern Kastro), however, did not accept Miltiades' plea on the ground that the Chersonese was not Attica. The citizens resisted, and the city held out for some time as the citadel was very strong and well adapted for defence. At length Miltiades reduced the fortress and annexed Lemnos to Athens about the year B.C. 493.¹

The authority of Athens was not yet very strong, as the Persians were still fighting against the Greeks, and forced most of the Aegaeian islanders to supply ships to support the march of the Persian troops through Macedonia; these ships fought against the Greeks at the battles of Artemisium and Salamis and after the defeat of the Persians at Artemisium B.C. 480, only one of the pressed ships took advantage of the defeat to go over to the side of the Greeks. This ship was commanded by Antidorus, a native of Lemnos, who was rewarded by the Athenians with a grant of land in the island of Salamis.²

The next date in Greek history connected with Lemnos is B.C. 477 when the island was admitted into the Confederation of Delos. It was some time between this year and about B.C. 452 that official colonists were sent from Athens and settled in the island, for in the latter year we find the amount of tribute and taxes to be paid by the colonists in Hephaestia and Myrina is fixed at $4\frac{1}{2}$ talents,³ also that a statue of Athena was presented by the colonists and was dedicated at Athens.

In B.C. 441 the Athenians placed fifty boys and fifty women from Samos as hostages in Lemnos, but they were released by some of the Samians who had escaped during the fighting in their own island and had reached Asia Minor and allied themselves with the Persians.⁴ In B.C. 430 Lemnos was visited by a plague which caused great loss of life.⁵ It was about this time that the Lesbians rebelled against Athens, but although Lemnos was so close, and the Imbrians are mentioned as taking part in

¹ Herod. vi. 140.

² Herod. viii. 11.

³ *I.G.* i, 233 and n. 37, 84; 227 *sqq.*

⁴ Thuc. i. 115.

⁵ *Id.* ii. 47, 49.

the fighting in Mitylene, no troops are stated by Thucydides¹ to have come from Lemnos, though in subsequent years they fought side by side with the Imbrians during the Peloponnesian War on the side of the Athenians. Thus in B.C. 425 Cleon at Pylos successfully undertook to drive out the Lacedaemonians from the island of Sphacteria, using only the Lemnians, Imbrians and a few other troops;² in B.C. 422 the best of the Lemnians fought for the Athenians against Brasidas at Amphipolis,³ and in B.C. 413 they took part in the fighting against the Syracusans.⁴

In the year B.C. 404 or 403 Lemnos regained its independence after the fall of Athens,⁵ but in the year B.C. 394 Athens renewed her struggle against Sparta and although not successful on land, regained command of the sea. Conon rebuilt the walls of Athens in B.C. 393 and brought several of the islands once more under Athenian rule, Lemnos being amongst the number. Her sovereignty was confirmed by the Peace of Antalcidas in B.C. 387.⁶

After this there ensued a few years of tranquility for Lemnos, until the year B.C. 351, when Philip of Macedonia made incursions amongst the islands and ravaged them.⁷ An inscription found in Lemnos⁸ shows that about B.C. 348 there was a colony of Chalcidians in Myrina (Kastro) who had probably been driven from their homes by him. In B.C. 322 Lemnos was regained by Athens, only to be recaptured in B.C. 318 by Cassander, with the help of troops supplied by Antigonos. Three years later, Antigonos, the most powerful of the successors of Alexander the Great, was engaged in war with Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander and Lysimachus, and fighting took place in all parts of Syria, Phoenicia and Asia Minor. In B.C. 314 Myrina in Lemnos, was besieged by twenty ships. In B.C. 311 peace was patched up between the various rulers, Antigonos being confirmed in his government of all Asia, but he still kept possession of various islands, of which Lemnos was one. In B.C. 307 Lemnos was returned to the Athenians by Antigonos and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes. About the year B.C. 287 or 286, Demetrius, driven out of Asia after the death of his father at the Battle of Ipsus, obtained Macedonia and the greater part of Thrace by conquest; he was attacked by Ptolemy, Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, the latter gaining possession of Lemnos; but the island shortly afterwards

¹ *Id.* iii. 5.² Thuc. iv. 28.³ Thuc. v. 8.⁴ Thuc. vii. 57.⁵ Aeschin. ii. 76.⁶ Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8, 15, v. 31.⁷ Dem. iv. 34.⁸ *I.G.* xii. (8), 4.

passed into the possession of Seleucus, who had declared war against his father-in-law, Lysimachus, and he returned it to the Athenians in B.C. 281.

In the years B.C. 266-5 and 263-2, when Antigonus Gonatas was King of Macedonia, Lemnos was again taken from the Athenians and occupied by his forces, and for some forty years there were no further changes in its fortunes. By the year B.C. 220, when Philip V. succeeded to the Macedonian throne, apparently Lemnos had been returned to the Athenians,¹ but about the year B.C. 202-1 the Athenians in the islands occupied by Philip appealed to Rome for help.² Upon the conclusion of the Second Punic War the Romans renewed their enterprises against Greece, and in B.C. 200 declared war against Philip; in B.C. 196 Philip sued for peace, and was compelled to withdraw his garrisons from the Greek possessions he had occupied, including many of the islands.³ Lemnos was declared to be free and the islanders once again were their own masters; seven years after his death in B.C. 179, his son Perseus engaged in a war with Rome, which terminated in B.C. 168 with his defeat and capture, but in B.C. 166 the Roman Senate returned Lemnos to the Athenians,⁴ and it remained attached to Athens until the time of Septimius Severus, A.D. 193-211, but it seems probable that under that emperor, who was not favourably disposed to the Athenians, Lemnos was for a time a "free" state. During this period the island occupied much the same position with regard to Athens as Malta does to England, both guarding the most important part of the most important trade route of their times, as the trade with the Black Sea had by this time become very large in volume. Lemnos, however, hardly emerges from oblivion, but a few scattered details can be gleaned from inscriptions. Between 30 B.C. and 14 A.D. various disputes between the Athenian communities in Lemnos were settled by the courts at Athens.⁵ In the second century A.D. a member of the important local family of the Philostrati filled the post of high priest of Hephaestos,⁶ and at the beginning of the same century the Athenian community at Hephaestia erected in Athens, at their own expense, a statue of the Areopagus.⁷

The geographical position of Lemnos exposed it to attack from all sea raiders whose goal was Byzantium, and the little that is recorded of

¹ *I.G.* ii. (1), 592.

² Paus. i. 36, 5.

³ Livy, xxxiii. 30.

⁴ Polyb. xxx. 21.

⁵ *I.G.* ii. 488.

⁶ *I.G.* xii. (8), 27.

⁷ A. Moschides, *Ἡ Λέμνος*, pp. 93, 94; *I.G.* xii. (8), 26.

its civil history from the second to the ninth centuries A.D. is in connection with the raids made on it.

Some time during the third century A.D., a certain Antiretes Akanthios was carried off by raiders from Lemnos.¹ At this time the island was subject to Rome but apparently it did not receive any particular protection against raiders, as in A.D. 267 a fleet consisting of 500 vessels, chiefly manned by Goths and Heruli, issued from the Hellespont after seizing Byzantium, plundered many cities of the Peloponnesus and laid waste several islands, including Lemnos.²

From the fourth century Lemnos was part of the Byzantine Empire and though the island is not mentioned by name as one of the sufferers from the raids either of the Avars in the reign of Heraclius or of the Sclavonians in the reign of Constantine V., it is recorded that after one raid by the latter in which the northern islands suffered severely, the Emperor ransomed some 2,500 of the islanders who had been taken captive by these pirates.³ At the beginning of the sixth century Lemnos was in the eparchy of Achaia.

The growth of the Saracen empire brought fresh trouble to Lemnos, and in A.D. 901 the Saracen fleet plundered the island, the Byzantine fleet being powerless to protect it.⁴ In A.D. 920 the fleet was completely reorganised by Romanus I., who in his youth had served as a mariner, with such good results that in 924 the Byzantine Admiral, John Radenos, so completely defeated the Saracen Emir, Leo of Tripolis, off Lemnos, that the latter barely escaped with his own ship and for a period Lemnos had rest from raids. At this time the island was included in the Aegean Theme.

The ecclesiastical history of the island during this period (third to tenth centuries) is also fragmentary. About the middle of the second century, the island was converted to Christianity or perhaps it would be more exact to say that Christianity was implanted in the island. At the beginning of the fourth century Hephaestia was the site of a bishopric⁵ and in 680 the Bishop of Lemnos took his seat in the Synod of Constantinople. In A.D. 776 the body of S. Euphemia was brought to Lemnos. In A.D. 797 Theodore of Studium, banished from Constantinople by Constantine VI., travelled to Thessalonika, his place of exile, via Lemnos where he was courteously received by the Bishop of the island.

¹ Polyaen. vi. 54.

² Syncellus, *Chron.* 382.

³ Hopf in Ersch and Grüber, 85, 87.

⁴ Symeon Mag. 463,

⁵ *B.C.H.* xxix. 59, 66.

During the reign of Leo VI. (886-912), Lemnos became a metropolitan See.

In the eleventh century the Venetian merchants, who were getting a grip on the trade in the eastern Mediterranean, began trading at Lemnos; and by the beginning of the next century there was a well established connection between the island and Venice. In A.D. 1136 Archbishop Michael of Lemnos gave to the Venetians a chapel at Kotchinos, the boundaries being specifically stated. The villagers seem to have objected, but the Venetians said they would build a chapel of their own there to the honour and glory of St. George, and that each year they would give two sea measures of refined olive oil to the Archbishop.¹ In A.D. 1173 the Monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice possessed land in the island.

In 1172 Venice was at war with Byzantium and in 1172-3 a Venetian fleet of one hundred and fifty ships under the Doge Vital Michieli II. was in the Aegæan. It wintered at Chios, but owing to an outbreak of plague among the crews was forced to withdraw from that island first to Lesbos, then to Lemnos and finally to Skyros, abandoning many ships at each port owing to the death of the crews. Peace was made in 1174, Venice being restored to the position it had occupied in the island before the war. The islands of the Aegæan being part of the Byzantine empire, were involved in the redistribution of its provinces which followed the siege and capture of Constantinople by the Venetians and the Crusaders in 1204. Venice secured many, including Lemnos, and apportioned them to noble Venetian families the heads of which took the title of Grand Duke. The first Grand Duke of Lemnos was Philocole Navigajosa. On his death in 1214 the island was divided between his son Leonard (1214-1260), who received half the island, and his two daughters, who took the remainder. On Leonard's death his son Paolo succeeded him (1260-1276).

The history of Lemnos from the thirteenth till the middle of the fifteenth century presents difficulties, as it is seldom clear who ruled the island. It is fairly evident, however, that at various times the Venetians and Genoese simultaneously claimed right of exploitation, and no doubt they were both there; probably the Genoese occupied the western and the Venetians the eastern half of the island. It is certain that

¹ Daru, *Hist. de Venise*.

Lemnos, in spite of all these quarrels, was very prosperous, for in 1437 it contained two towns, six castles and one hundred villages.¹

In 1261 Michael Palaeologus, Emperor at Nicea, in order to obtain the assistance of the Genoese, who were the great rivals of the Venetians in the Aegæan trade, in his attempt to place himself on the throne at Constantinople, signed a treaty with them at Nymphaeum, by which Lemnos was given to the Embriaci family, a branch of the Gattelusi who were in possession of many other islands.² In 1278, however, the island was again in the power of the Latin Empire and from 1296 to 1303 the Venetians once more ruled there.³ In 1306 Roger de Flor devastated it. In 1322, civil war having broken out at Constantinople, the Lemnians sided with Andronicus III. In 1327 a colony of two thousand Dalmatians was planted there by the authorities at Constantinople, but probably did not stay for any length of time. In 1334 Turkish corsairs raided the island and captured many ships. In 1344 John of Selymbria, nephew of Manuel II., was banished to Lemnos and remained there until recalled to Thessalonika to receive the title of co-Emperor several years later. In 1349 Gregorius Palamas, Bishop of Thessalonika, took refuge in Lemnos.

About the year 1395 the Turks again raided Lemnos, doing great damage, and it is believed that about this time the city of Hephaestia was entirely blotted out by a landslide following a period of very heavy rains. Hephaestia had fallen from its former high estate as the chief town in the island owing to the gradual silting up of its harbour. The merchants were the first to leave the city and establish themselves at Kotchinos, at the extreme south end of the Purnea Bay, only a few miles distant, where they were followed as time went on by the remainder of the population. The first migration from Hephaestia to Kotchinos took place shortly after the introduction of Christianity in the middle of the second century A.D., the new converts moving there because they could not live peaceably with the Kabiri worshippers. In 1397 Kotchinos became the headquarters of the Venetian garrison who erected a very strong fort, which in the same year was given by John VIII. to his wife Eugenia, daughter of Francesco Gattiluso of Lesbos. In 1398 Manuel II. promised Lemnos to the Venetians in return for their help, but between 1414 and 1419 it was again given to the Genoese Gattelusi and Jacob Gatteluso was the ruler.

¹ Νεὸς Ἑλληνομνήμων, viii. 363.

² Bent, J. T. *Genoa*, p. iii.; *B.S.A.* xv. p. 248.

³ *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, p. 247.

Soon after the marriage of the Emperor Constantine Palaeologus XI. a dispute arose between him and his brother Demetrius who called in the assistance of the Turks. At that time Constantine was in the Peloponnesus, and, on hearing of these intrigues, at once left for the capital. On the way he went to Lesbos where his wife was staying with her father Dorino I. and after leaving this island encountered the Turkish fleet off Lemnos and took refuge in the castle of Kotchinos (1442). In 1442 the Turks were laying desultory siege to the castle, and after the arrival of the Emperor and Empress they carried on the siege with increased vigour, but were eventually compelled to retreat owing to the courage of the Lemnians fighting by the side of their Emperor. The hardships of the siege caused the Empress to give premature birth to her child, and she died in the castle of Kotchinos in August, 1442, and was buried with all honours at Palaeo Kastro.¹ Phrantzes, in his account of the siege, does not mention the name of the castle, but Chalcondyles² expressly says that it was Kotchinos.

According to Piacenza, during the Venetian rule in the island several castles or forts were built at Moudros, Kondia, Palaeo Kastro, Plata and Scala as well as that at Kotchinos. Possibly he confused Palaeo Kastro with Kastro (Myrina), which he does not mention but which was the strongest castle in the island. Kotchinos was next in importance, and the remainder were of little value,³ being nothing more than outpost stations.

From 1449 to 1455, Nicolo II., a Venetian, Duke of Naxos, held Lemnos, although in 1453 Constantine gave it to the Genoese, and the Gattelusi had some authority in the island. Constantine needed help against the Turks and he hoped to obtain some assistance in return for his concession.

In 1453, the Turkish rule was definitely established in Europe after the siege and fall of Constantinople; for a time Mohammed II. left Lemnos and Thasos under Christian rulers, but in 1457 he annexed the islands to his dominions. Lemnos suffered severely, many of the inhabitants had already fled to Chios, Euboea and Crete,⁴ the wealthiest of those who remained were deported to Constantinople and only the peasants remained to till the soil.

¹ Moschides, *op. cit.* p. 168.

² Book VI. p. 306, ed. Bonn.

³ Moschides, *op. cit.* p. 191.

⁴ Critobulus, i. 75.

Between 1457 and 1464 the Turks were continually fighting with the Venetians, who gained possession of Lemnos in 1464. In 1476 they successfully held the castles of Kastro and Kotchinos against the Turks. Fighting took place in many other parts of the Near East. In 1477 the war went against the Venetians, in 1479 the Turks were at the gates of Venice, and amongst the terms of the treaty by which the war was ended was the cession of Lemnos to the Turks.

During the sixteenth century Lemnos led a comparatively peaceful existence. Belon du Mans, who went there about the middle of the century, says that he found the island in a prosperous condition and there were seventy-five villages¹; in 1577 Gerlach notes that the islanders paid a tribute of 5,000 ducats.² Their prosperity lasted till the Cretan War, when they were ruined by the cutting down of trees during a Venetian occupation.

For another hundred years the history of Lemnos is obscure, but in 1655 Venice was again fighting against the Ottoman Empire, and in the course of the operations her naval forces seized the island of Tenedos after an engagement with the Turkish fleet in July. They then attacked Lemnos, which had been further fortified by Mohammed II., and in 1656 laid siege to the citadel of Kastro. The disaster which had overtaken the Turkish Fleet facilitated these operations, and the besiegers were able to hail bullets and all sorts of combustibles on the defenders. The Capitan Pasha of the Ottoman fleet, who was then at Gallipoli, managed to send some reinforcements; the Venetians were repelled in two different actions and lost several hundred men, but some sections of the attacking force entered the town. The water cisterns were empty in the citadel, the walls breached by artillery fire, and the besieged garrison could no longer hold out. On the nineteenth day of the siege they capitulated, and everything fell into the hands of the Venetians, who, besides taking fifty thousand sheep, collected enormous booty. Amongst the loot was the sum of sixty thousand piastres belonging to the Aga of the Janissaries, and the Turks left the island with nothing but their clothes. The following year, 1657, however, the Turkish Commander Mohammed Kiuprili was able to inform the Sultan, who was at Adrianople, that he had recaptured Lemnos, which was considered of great importance to the Turkish Empire.³

Another long period of quiescence ensues and it is not until 1770.

¹ Belon, *Observations*, p. xxv.

² Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, p. 403.

³ *Hist. de Lemnos*, Vol. viii. Sect. 17. Extracts from Turkish records of Naima Effendi.

that we are able to glean any further information. At this time Greece was attempting to re-establish its independence, and was supported by Great Britain and Russia.¹ On July 7th, 1770, the allied Russian and British fleets under Alexis Orloff, Admirals Greig, Elphinstone and Spiritoff defeated the Turkish fleet at Chesme, in the Chios Channel; the Turkish fleet was commanded by Capitan Pasha Hosameddin, with Hassan, the Algerine, as his Flag-Captain. This victory opened the way for the Allied fleets to attack the Dardanelles, and Elphinstone urged Orloff to force the passage and either to dictate peace at Constantinople or to lay it in ashes. Orloff rejected this advice, projects for attacking Chios and Smyrna were discussed, and finally it was determined to attack Lemnos, as the harbour would be a useful base for a strict blockade of the Dardanelles. The attack on the island was at once undertaken, but the castle at Kastro offered an unexpectedly strong resistance and three months were spent in fruitless endeavours to reduce it.

In the meanwhile the English officers had been recalled, and the weakened Russian fleet was left to carry on the siege alone. Orloff's dilatory conduct gave time to the Turks to assemble fresh forces. Baron de Tott was given charge of the work of strengthening the fortifications of the Dardanelles, whilst Hassan, as soon as he recovered from the wounds received at Chesme, was appointed Capitan Bey, and entrusted with full powers to collect a force to relieve the Turkish troops in Lemnos. He assembled 4,000 picked troops in the Gallipoli Peninsula, and embarked them in twenty-three small vessels. This force, escorted by two line-of-battle ships, effected its landing on the east coast of Lemnos, on October 9th, and stormed the Russian camp sword in hand. The Russians were caught unawares and were forced to fly, only managing to reach their ships with the loss of all their artillery, military stores and equipment. A few days later a naval engagement took place off the island in which Hassan manœuvred so well that he was able to keep the sea without any loss, and Alexis Orloff, finding that his vessels needed repairs, sailed to Paros, leaving Hassan with the highest personal honours of the campaign, in spite of the catastrophe of Chesme.

Hassan has left his name in Lemnos, for in addition to driving the Russians out of the island, he built a bath-house at Thermia, the famous hot-springs which are still used by the inhabitants.

¹ Finlay, *History of Greece*, Vol. vi. pp. 258 ff.

During the war between Russia and Turkey, Lemnos, like the rest of the Hellenic world, was reduced to a condition of great misery, and most of the villages appear to have been almost entirely deserted, though by the beginning of the next century, when Dr. Hunt visited Lemnos in 1781, conditions had improved.¹ At Kastro, the chief town in the island, he found a shipbuilding yard, and at the time of his visit there was a 50-gun ship on the stocks in course of construction for the Turkish Navy. He mentions that Varos, a village in the N. of the island, between Moudros Harbour and Purnea Bay, contained only 15 houses. In the time of Belon du Mans, there were 75 villages in the island, but when Hunt paid his visit the number was considerably less. As regards the state of the island, he tells us practically nothing, except that it produced sufficient grain for its own needs, exporting the surplus to Mitylene. The peasants were very poor, and were ground down by the exactions of the Turkish authorities. Kastro was the chief town of the Turkish Sanjak, and was also the cathedral town of Lemnos and Strati, the Greek bishop residing there.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, Greece was still engaged in the attempt to regain her independence, and in 1829, on August 28th, the Treaty of Adrianople was signed, by which Turkey, amongst other concessions, ceded the Cyclades and Lemnos to Greece. Shortly afterwards, however, Greece returned Lemnos and Crete to Turkey, in exchange for the island of Euboea. Thus Lemnos again became part of the Ottoman Empire, and it was not until 83 years later that it was again occupied by Greeks from Athens. On October 21st, 1912, during the first Balkan war, the Greek Fleet occupied Port Moudros in Lemnos, and a blockade of the other ports of the island was declared.

At the beginning of the Great War, 1914, the fate of Lemnos was still hanging in the balance, though Greece was administering the island, collecting the revenues, running the post office, and had erected certain fortifications, &c. The island was however still nominally part of the Turkish Empire, and from the end of 1914 to the early spring of 1916 it was the British base for the Dardanelles and Gallipoli adventures,² and was thronged with men of all the allied nations and of the neutrals who ministered to their needs. As many as five hundred ships—fighting

¹ *Walpole's Travels*, pp. 54 ff.

² See Masefield's *Gallipoli*, pp. 32–35, for a description of the departure of ships.

ships, transports, hospital ships and merchantmen—often lay at anchor in Moudros Bay, and it was then that the name of 'Mudros' (to many synonymous with Lemnos) became a household word throughout the British Empire. After the evacuation of the Gallipoli Peninsula most of the camps were removed, but the island remained an important base for the allied operations in the Near East until the end of the war.

On September 27th, 1917, the inhabitants expressed their political preference by hoisting the flag of the Provisional Greek Government. By the terms of the Treaty presented to Turkey, as published on May 11th, 1920, Lemnos becomes part of the kingdom of Greece.

II.—PLACES OF INTEREST IN THE ISLAND.

The following notes supplement the descriptions given by Conze, Friedrich, Tozer, Picard and A. Reinach, and other travellers.

*Kastro*¹ (*Myrina*).

Fig. 1 shows a piece of the polygonal wall on the left of the approach to the castle. One of the blocks is five feet five inches by three feet. Underneath is an open cave over which a large rock projects. Just inside the gate of the castle Conze saw a slab with the monogram of the Palaeologi²; Tozer also saw it but it has now disappeared; so has the small relief mentioned by Picard and Reinach. The plateau near the top of the castle hill is covered with pieces of marble. I saw two marble columns about ten feet in length and one in diameter; there were also the bases of several columns and many slabs were built into the walls and pavement. Fig. 2 gives a view to the north from the castle wall, looking over the modern town. The only thing of interest in the modern town is an old bronze cannon brought from the castle in 1917. Engraved on the top of the gun near the breech is the coat-of-arms of Philip of Spain with the words 'Philipus Rex' below it. Further down is 'Opus Remigy de Balut' and the extreme end at the top of the breech bears the date 'Anno 1555.' On the promontory with a windmill on its extremity (Fig. 2) Friedrich found traces of a temple of the 'Great Goddess' and fragments of the wall

¹ Conze, *Reise*, p. 108 f.; Friedrich, *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, p. 243 f.; Tozer, *Aegean Days*, p. 240 f.; Ch. Picard and A. Reinach, *B.C.H.* 1912, p. 339.

² *Op. cit.* Taf. xiii. 3.

are still to be seen. Mr. Andreas Michalopoulos, Sub-Governor of Lemnos, has very kindly sent me the following details of the remains. 'They



FIG. 1.—POLYGONAL WALL AT KASTRO.



FIG. 2.—VIEW FROM THE CASTLE OF KASTRO, LOOKING NORTH.

consist of two parallel rows of local rock, hewn into big square blocks.

These rows run from east to west and are about nine metres apart and joined at the west end by a similar row of blocks. The length of the two rows is about eleven metres, and the breadth of the blocks about forty-five centimetres. They are almost certainly part of the groundwork of an ancient temple. The whole is thinly covered in grass. I think that the rows running east and west originally extended further, but there are no signs of stones at the east end. At the east end of the southern line there are a few chips of white marble which have been smoothed and polished. A certain amount of sherds are to be found in the neighbourhood. There is a curious mound a few paces away, probably ancient. I hope to have the place excavated.'

*Varos*¹ (*Baros*).

The stone base of the priest's throne appears to be Roman work, the base consisting of three steps, the top one decorated with a looped-up garland, the bottom one semi-circular. At the foot of the throne are two couchant animals, apparently lions.

The track from Varos to the sea (Purnea Bay) leads past some ruins known as Palæo Pretorio² (Fig. 3). In some ways they are the most satisfactory of any of the existing classical remains in the island (to the lay mind), as there are some marble columns still standing *in situ*. The area of the ruins is bounded by an irregular quadrilateral wall, nowhere above the level of the ground, the external measurements of which are: east wall, sixty-eight feet; south wall, fifty-five feet; west wall, sixty-six feet; north wall, forty-eight feet. These measurements may not be quite accurate as the corners were very indistinct and overgrown by grass. The thickness of the wall is about fourteen inches and is composed of two rows of stones. Inside the area are some marble columns, of which the remains of five are still to be seen, one being three feet above the ground, and another about eight inches; the remainder level with the ground. They are about nine inches in diameter. Towards the north-east corner is part of an upright granite column about four-and-a-half feet high and eighteen inches in diameter. About twenty feet north of the ruins is a well, and on looking down it, I noticed that just below the level of the ground the well was considerably broader than was to be expected, and there were arches on the north and south side, the south side being nearest the ruins. They

¹ Conze, *op. cit.* pp. 113, 114 (Waros); Friedrich, *loc. cit.* p. 251. ² Conze, *op. cit.* p. 113.

were roughly formed of dressed and undressed stone, and semi-pointed in character. Whether the well ever had any connection with the ruins I cannot say, but it seems quite possible, though the arches must be considerably later than the date of the ruins. Inside the ruined area, near the north wall, is a depression as if someone had been doing some excavating. Probably the ruins would repay any attention in that way, as the height of the columns rather indicates that the floor of the building (a temple?) must be some way underneath the present ground level.



FIG. 3.—PALAEO PRETORIO.

Conze¹ states that he saw the top of a marble sarcophagus in this district.

There is another spot near Varos on the road to Erpani which deserves a visit. The rocks which abound look quite ordinary, but when broken are found to consist of petrified wood. The petrified forest covers a good area and is only about three hundred yards from the saddle of the first ridge after leaving Varos. The wood is found on each side of the path, and some of the trunks are great boulders, some amongst them six or seven feet square. The silicified wood is found in all stages from the pieces as hard as granite to those which seem hardly to have been affected in any way. The pieces show many different

¹ *Reise*, p. 113.

characteristics, some being white and very like marble in appearance, whilst others are more like agate. I have taken pieces of this wood to the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street, and was informed that they were specimens of silicified wood. Other parts of the island in which this silicified wood is found are near the Turkish Prisoners' Cemetery on the side of the hills to the south-east of Moudros, and on the hills between Moudros Harbour and Examination Anchorage. (Pl. XV.)

*Erpani.*¹

The church dedicated to St. Athanasius contains much ancient marble, most of it brought from Kotchinos. Several large slabs of marble were recently unearched, and were lying outside the churchyard. Some of these measured at least 5' x 3' and 4" in thickness and one bore the monogram $\Lambda \text{P} \Omega$

*Kotchinos*² (*Kokkinos*).

The stone houses and warehouses on the sea front noted by Conze are still in existence, and the sea wall of the castle hill.

Before reaching the hill a ditch can be traced for some distance, and apparently it completely guarded the two landward sides of the fort, and was connected with the sea, so that the citadel could be isolated from the land. On the inside of the ditch are parts of a wall, probably erected by the Venetians when they built—or rebuilt—the castle there. Slight traces can still be found all over the area bounded by the ditch of this castle, but nothing remains above ground to-day; the buildings have met the usual fate of all such disused buildings in those parts, and have been used by the islanders as a quarry for the building of their houses.

About fifty feet remain of the well-built sea wall on the north side figured by Friedrich.³ It is composed of large stones, and is ten feet high and five to six feet thick. On the summit of the hill there is a small church, which contains nothing of special interest, but leading from the portico is a flight of fifty-seven steps, every thirteenth step being of white marble. A few steps lead to the commencement of this subterranean staircase which ends in a small chamber about seven feet square with a domed roof in the

¹ Conze, *op. cit.* p. 114 (Drepanidi); Friedrich, *loc. cit.* (Repanidi).

² Conze, *op. cit.* p. 114 ff.; Friedrich, *loc. cit.* p. 253.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. 254, Fig. 5.

centre of the hill. In the far right-hand corner is a small opening in the



FIG. 4.—HILLS CONTAINING THE LEMNIAN EARTH PIT (X) FROM THE S E.



FIG. 5.—THE LEMNIAN EARTH PIT.

floor where there is always fresh water. This well is at sea level and was evidently part of the water-supply of the castle, though it may be older than the castle which was built in 1476 on the site of a still older building.

Flint arrow heads and scrapers and stone axe heads made of a hard green stone have been found on the hill. Also some bronze ornaments, apparently part of a necklace, and some bone beads. Coins and pottery (of all ages) have also been found. A beginning was made at excavating what looked like a small chamber on the slope of the hill not far from the church, so far with little result except a large slab of marble decorated with a cross.

*Lemnian Earth Pit.*¹

Figs. 4, 5, 6 show the low hills in which the pit lies, the pit, and the perennial spring (Phthelidia) on the hill side. The pit is in the saddle which connects the slightly higher ground on the right with the main ridge. There is a circular depression, about twenty feet in diameter, partially marked out with stones. At the bottom of this depression is a hole approximately eight feet by three feet, with a mass of loose stones, thistles, etc.,



FIG. 6.—PERENNIAL SPRING (PHTHELIDIA) NEAR THE LEMNIAN EARTH PIT.

at the bottom. It is said that some time ago the owner of the land wished to fill up the pit and cultivate the land, but this was not done. The old ceremonies are still observed (1918), and the earth is still in demand as a specific in cases of fever and dysentery.

¹ F. W. Hasluck, *B.S.A.* xvi. pp. 220 *sqq.*, with a full bibliography.

Kastro Vouni (Hephaistia) (Figs. 7, 8).

The underground building mentioned by Conze¹ was actually excavated by a naval officer who gave me the following information :—

The building was almost entirely filled up with stones and tightly packed earth, and dynamite had to be judiciously used to facilitate its removal. The roof is formed of a concrete-like mixture of about four feet in thickness, though slightly less thick at the top. The roof is well arched, and down the centre of the chamber is a series of columns, four in number, supporting five arches, semi-pointed in style (Fig. 9). The columns have a plain capital; on the inside of the most easterly column a cross was found cut in sunken relief. The capitals appear to be made of some sort of concrete plastered over the same kind of stone from which the columns are cut. From the top of the roof, inside, to the floor is at least nine-and-a-half feet, the floor being composed of red bricks on a six-inch foundation of concrete mixed with flints, etc. All the corners were rounded, which gave the chamber the appearance of having been used as a reservoir. The internal dimensions are about forty feet long and twelve to fourteen feet in width; the south aisle is the narrowest, being only about five feet wide. The east wall does not go completely across the chamber, but stops short about two-and-a-half feet from the south wall. Behind this gap is another column, and from here you can clamber to the surface. On searching closely outside, I found traces of an extension of this underground building to the eastward, and it seems that only about half of its total length has been even partially excavated.

All round the top of the hill there are signs that there are many other underground chambers. Round the sides of the hill, as well as on the top are to be seen pieces of worked stone, marble,² pottery of all ages in fragments, etc.

At the bottom of the hill, towards the east, are traces of what may have been an artificially prepared area. It is more or less level, and on the north side use seems to have been made of the natural strata of the rock, which here is above ground. The impression conveyed was that there had been an artificial ceremonial roadway leading from a building, and in the centre of the roadway there had been places for statues, etc.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 115; De Launay, *Rev. Arch.* 1895, p. 306; *B.C.H.* 1912, p. 327, note 1.

² Apparently from Thasos.

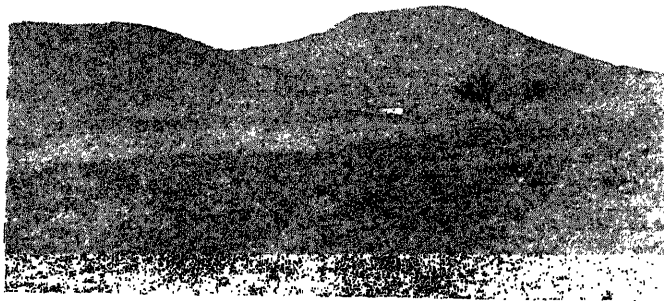


FIG. 7.—KASTRO VOUNI. FIG. 8.—VIEW FROM KASTRO VOUNI LOOKING NORTH-EAST.
FIG. 9.—UNDERGROUND BUILDING AT KASTRO VOUNI.

*Vorio Kastro.*¹

There is very little to be seen of the remains of the mediaeval castle, as the wind and rain have effaced the traces of it. The vaulting of the cisterns had fallen in when Friedrich was there in 1906. Not far away the French, during the Gallipoli campaign, made some excavations and found pottery, fragments of statues, coins, etc.

*Komi.*²

There is practically nothing left of the foundations of the temple of Herakles which Friedrich found in 1906. I traced them for about thirty



FIG. 10.—FOUNTAIN AT KOMI.

feet in one direction, only one course of stones being in position, and for about fifteen feet at right angles to the north-east side. In 1912 there were still four blocks superposed. The remains were pointed out by one of the villagers who remembered some excavating being done some years ago when the inscriptions were taken to France (?). He said all the stones from the temple had been used in building sheds, etc., and certainly every

¹ Conze, *op. cit.* p. 119; Friedrich, *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, p. 255, note 3.

² Friedrich, *loc. cit.* p. 251 and note 2; *B.C.H.* 1912, p. 349 and Fig. 18.

house in the village contains some, the corner stones in particular being used. I saw no marble fragments near the temple, though there are pieces of granite columns in and near the village. The fountain (Fig. 10) which lay a little beyond the ruins has been recently demolished (1918).

*H. Sophia.*¹

Both Conze and Friedrich refer to the ruins at H. Sophia in the south-east corner of the island, but neither appears to have visited them.

The ruins cover a fairly large area, and are surrounded by an outer wall. In places this wall is still about three feet high and very thick, being



FIG. 11.—RUINS AT H. SOPHIA.

composed of loose stones. Parts of the wall have been broken down, whilst in others there are no stones remaining. The outer wall is about twenty yards from the ruins proper. They cover an area of about 315 feet by 120 feet. At the north end is a small mound with parts of the wall still remaining on three sides, the stones being rectangular in shape, and fairly well cut, carefully laid; no mortar being used as far as I could see. At the south end of the ruins is a much larger mound; the wall on the outside, though ruined, is fairly well preserved (Fig. 11). A hole has been made

¹ Conze, *ob. cit.* p. 120.

in the wall, and this shows the great thickness and composition of the various materials used in its construction. The outer layer is composed of dressed stones, whilst they are backed up with a considerable thickness of rubble and large roughly cut stones, the whole being backed up by earth. All round the area is a mass of stones from the walls of buildings.

Inside the inner walls, about ten yards from the mound at the south end, is an erection about five yards square, though there is not much of it left. On the west side are traces of several chambers or detached buildings, some of them being forty by thirty feet in size; others were smaller. Between the outer wall and the ruins are several isolated erections.



FIG. 12.—ROCK GRAVES AT KAMINIA.

A fort was built by the Venetians in this part of the island, according to Piacenza at Scala, and local tradition says that the ruins were destroyed by the Turks when they first came to Lemnos.

All round the ruins are countless pieces of marble, and it seems as if the whole, or at any rate part, of the buildings may have been faced either with marble, or else with sandstone which has a thin natural facing of calcite. Several blocks of this sandstone are to be seen in the walls at the north and south end of the ruins.

To the south of the ruins is a chapel about a quarter of a mile away.

Outside it are several pieces of marble columns, some granite columns, and a marble slab inscribed B + G. The interior of the chapel is bare, but the altar is composed of a marble slab resting on the top of a broken column.

*Kaminia.*¹

Fig. 12 shows the four rock graves on the plateau described by Friedrich and by Picard and Reinach. There are still some remains of a small fortress on the top of the hill at the end of the ridge. The chapel in which the famous inscription was found² has been incorporated with some other buildings and is now part of a farm.

Moudros.

In the floor of the old church is a relief—possibly representing Aphrodite rising from the sea. Near the new church on the hill are capitals of columns, and a carved fragment of a column showing a fish (something like a porpoise).

To the east of the village on the Chrysopoulo road is the Allied Cemetery. There are two monuments: one erected by the French, a truncated obelisk on a large square section pedestal and base, having bronze plaques inlaid in the pedestal, bearing a dedicatory inscription and the names of the fallen. The British monument is a slender obelisk surmounted by a cross. Both monuments are of local stone and were made by the troops with a little local help. The cemetery is now surrounded by a high wall and the fine entrance gateway will be closed by wrought-iron gates.

Portianos.

This village lies on the west side of Moudros Harbour. Just outside the village lies the cemetery made by the British during the Gallipoli campaign. It is surrounded by a low wall, and a fine lych gate has been erected as a memorial. The officers and men who served in H.M.S. 'Endymion' during the war are also erecting a memorial here.

¹ Friedrich, *loc. cit.* pp. 252, 253; *B.C.H.* 1912, pp. 341 ff.

² *I.G.* xii. (8), 1.

Fig. 13 shows a marble statuette of Kybele about 10" high which I found near the road from Portianos to Kondia. The figure is of the usual seated goddess type and is identified as Kybele by the lion on the right-hand side.



FIG. 13.—MARBLE STATUETTE OF KYBELE.

III. NOTES ON BIRDS AND FISHES SEEN IN LEMNOS.

Birds.

I am much indebted to Temporary Surgeon J. W. Harrison, R.N., of the late 'M28,' for the following list of birds which he has seen in Lemnos.¹

Lark. Crested; Sky (sub-species); Calandra²; Wood (W); Pipits, Meadow.

¹ W=Winter time; ?=observation doubtful; a=rare; i=only one seen.

² Not seen, but is found in the island.

Wagtails. Pied ; White ; Grey ; Yellow ; Black Headed Yellow (1).
Buntings. Corn ; Cirl.
Crow. Hooded ; Carrion.
Jackdaw.
Dove. Rock ; Turtle ; Ring.
Hawk. Common Kestrel (sub-species).
Blackbird.
Wheatear. Common ; Isabelline ; Black (1), (?), (a) ; Pied ; Eastern
black-eared.
Stonechat. Ruficollis (sub-species).
Finch. Gold ; Chaffinch.
Linnet. Common.
Chiff Chaff (W).
Whitethroat. Greater ; Lesser.
Wren.
Hoopoe.
Starling. Common.
Raven.
Duck. Teal (W).
Kestrel. Lesser.
Falcon. Peregrine (1).
Gull. Black Hooded ; Mediterranean Black Hooded ; Yellow
Legged.
Terns. Common.
Duck. Mallard ; Widgeon (W).
Shag (sub-species).
Grebe. Great Crested ; Little Crested.
Sheldrake. Common.
Pochard. White-eyed.
Merganser. Red Breasted.
Cormorant. Common.
Diver. Red Throated.
Woodcock.
Snipe. Common ; Jack.
Partridge. Red Legged.

From the above list it will be seen that Lemnos is well off as regards
bird life, but the shooting, in comparison with the varieties of game birds

mentioned, is not good. The best districts for shooting are: the Salt Lake for duck, etc.; the flat lands and marshes north-west of Moudros Harbour for partridge, duck, geese, snipe, and also for hare; the valleys round Thermia for woodcock, widgeon, and partridge; the hills south-west of Moudros Harbour for partridge, etc. A few game birds and hare are shot amongst the hills to the east of the harbour.

Fishes.

The island is fairly well off for fish, but most of them make coarse eating. Good sport can be had by spinning with a spoon and live bait, or artificial bait, to the south-west of Black Rocks and across the entrance of the Harbour from Bouda Point to Limne Point, where fish of over 15 lb. can be caught. Another good spot is just outside the rocks south of Ispatho Island. The boat should be kept just moving and the hook, baited with meat or fish, kept close to the bottom, being moved gently up and down. Another good patch is near Bailey Shoal. Fishing with a hand line from the ship's side is a favourite sport, when mullet up to $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. are caught. Another method is to lower an electric lamp about three feet under the water, and to keep a baited hook moving about a foot beneath the surface. A good strong gut is needed.

For the following list I am indebted to Major H. W. Stock, R.M.

These fish are caught in the Harbour:—

Tunny. Bass. Bonito. Dendici (Sheepshead), (Oldwife). Rock Cod. Skate. Conger. Red Mullet. Grey Mullet. Grey Bream. Pink Bream. Mackerel. Sardine. Rock Fish. Gudgeon (Scorpidi). Gar Fish. Sepia.

Greek names of other Fish:—

Melandrini (Blacktail?). Sarpa. Melenes. Maitiko. Savridi. Lufari. Spari (Gilthead?). Perdica.

F. L. W. SEALY.

HERODOTUS AND THE CASPIAN.

(PLATE XVI.)

§ 1.—GENERAL TOPOGRAPHICAL PROBLEMS.

FROM several passages in Herodotus it is possible to piece together a general description of the Caspian Sea which, apart from its claims to accuracy, is at least comprehensive when judged by the standards of Herodotean geography.¹ The Caspian, says the historian, is a sea by itself without connexion with other seas. Its length is fifteen days' journey in a rowing boat, and its breadth at the broadest part is eight days' journey. Its western shores are bounded by the Caucasus and its eastern shores by vast deserts. Its southern shores form the boundary of Asia in the North.

The further passage² which gives a lucid description of the geological processes by which inland lakes and seas are formed in the Middle-east, belongs properly to any detailed account of the Caspian region, and is, in fact, attributed by Herodotus to a district 'on the confines of the Chorasmians, Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangians and Thamanians' which must, in consequence, be to the South-east or East of the Caspian.

It remains to be seen what knowledge, if any, Herodotus had of the northern shores of the Caspian beyond the fact that they closed it in and prevented any junction with the Northern Ocean, a belief which grew up at a later date.³ It is the purpose of this paper to show that Herodotus

¹ i. 203-4 (Dimensions and eastern and western shores). iv. 40 (southern shore).

² iii. 117 (the river Akes and the landlocked sea). The fact that the preceding chapter deals with the Arimaspi, who are located East of the Caspian (*z. inf.* p. 191) at any rate helps to orientate this story.

³ See Tarn, *J.H.S.* xxi. pp. 18-19.

does give certain information concerning the lands which form the immediate northern and north-eastern confines of the Caspian and that this information necessitates a modification of previously accepted groupings of Scythian tribes.

From the general nature of the account of the Caspian given in Herodotus it seems probable that the sources he drew from were those of traders and sailors who actually used the main trade routes. This seems particularly evident from the detailed dimensions that he gives and from the practical and authentic notes that he records,¹ which differ as much from the vague and rather unduly schematic account given by Aristeas of tribes situated North and East of the Caspian,² as a road book differs from a traveller's general report based only on his own personal experiences.³

The main geological problems of the Caspian area must first be dealt with in reference to the information given by Herodotus. These problems, in so far as they concern history, are two in number. The estimate here given of them must affect our opinion of historical records of the Caspian, and the solution tentatively put forward may help to clear up much that is confused.

The problems are, in the main :—

- (i) Did the Caspian in historical times differ in its physical outline and characteristics from the Caspian of to-day ?⁴
- (ii) Did the river Oxus at any time debouch into the Caspian or in any way change its course in historical times ?

The historical corollaries to these problems are as follows :—

- (i) Why is the Sea of Aral (the fourth largest inland sea) never mentioned by name or otherwise in historical records until the eighteenth century of our era, and is not indisputably shown on maps until then ?
- (ii) What was the course of the Oxus in the time of Herodotus, and what changes has it undergone subsequently ?

¹ Particularly in i. 204.

² iv. 13.

³ Herodotus himself in iv. 24 tells us that Scythians and Greek traders from the Black Sea are his sources.

⁴ For convenience the various names of Aral and the Oxus are here given, viz. Oxus = Amu Daria, Jihun, and Viadme (Gonzales de Clavijo) ; Aral = Lake Kitchai or Kithay and Khwarizm. For the identity of the Oxus and Araxes, see below p. 190.

These problems with their corollaries will be taken in order.

(i) Herodotus in the description above quoted makes the Caspian of greater length than breadth and states in definite and precise language that it is an inland sea. In this he is followed by Ptolemy, while Strabo, Mela, Pliny and Plutarch believe it to have been connected with the Northern Ocean. It is tempting to assume that Herodotus, therefore imagined the Caspian to be much as it is to-day, *i.e.* of greatest length from North to South.¹ He makes, however, no attempt to orientate his plan of the Caspian and, in consequence, it is quite impossible from his description alone to assume that it was in his day of the same shape as it is now. In this respect it is interesting to refer to the evidence of some early extant maps of the sea.

The famous Genoese map of the world, published in 1447,² makes the Caspian larger than the Euxine and broader from East to West than from North to South. The same peculiarity is seen in Fra Mauro's³ map of the world, though with the Caspian on a smaller scale, in Diego Homem's⁴ map of the world, and again in the map of Asia published in 1667.⁵ Only in 1723 is the sea represented in its true proportions.⁶ The inference from this evidence is that most of the mediaeval cartographers derived their idea of the sea from a pattern generally accepted since the days of Ptolemy who, in turn, may have accepted it from Herodotus. Whether this accepted outline really represented the views of Herodotus depends on the geological history of the sea from his time.

Before reviewing the geological changes that have taken place in those regions in historical times, a study of the pre-historic geological changes is worth consideration.

The generally accepted geological view,⁷ first foreshadowed in the seventeenth century by Tournefort, is, that at a date anterior to the opening of the Bosphorus, the Euxine and Caspian were united north of the Caucasus range by a channel that ran approximately along the line of the Manitch lakes across what are now the rich alluvial plains of Stavropol and Kuban,

¹ This is done by Minns: *Greeks and Scythians*, p. 10.

² 'Cosmographorum descriptio cum Marino accordata,' reproduced in Sven Hedin's *Southern Tibet*, vol. i. Pl. XII.

³ Sven Hedin, *op. cit.* Pl. XIII. This map is dated at 1459.

⁴ Sven Hedin, *op. cit.* Pl. XIX.

⁵ In Kircher's *China illustrata*: reproduced by Sven Hedin, *op. cit.* Pl. XI.

⁶ Delisle's map, Sven Hedin, *op. cit.* Pl. XLII.

⁷ Summarised by Wood, *The Shores of Lake Aral* (1876), chap. x.

to the Sea of Azov. Lake Aral and the network of smaller lakes to the north of it together with the vast alluvial plains of Western Turkestan (the Karakum sands and other districts) would thus have formed the eastern half of this Asiatic Mediterranean, which is estimated to have had a surface some 220 feet above the present sea level.

At the opening of the Bosphorus¹ a large volume of water entered the European Mediterranean, thus reducing the level of the Asiatic Mediterranean and isolating the eastern portion, dividing it by the Caucasus.² The occurrence in both regions of the same flora and fauna confirms the geological views.

In the time of Herodotus the isolation of the eastern portion was, of course, complete, but further local physical conditions came into operation in regard to the eastern half of this eastern portion and produced an Aralo-Caspian sea in which the Aral and the Caspian do not appear to have been definitely severed. What these local conditions were is best described in the account given by Herodotus of the way in which the river Akhes could be made to form a lake; in other words the Aral was prevented from drying up and was kept joined to the Caspian by the continuous flow into it of large rivers.³

The fact that the mean depth of the Aral at the present day is only 50 feet and that the rivers feeding it have been notoriously subject to variations and divergencies, shows that the conditions governing the two waters can never be said to be permanent. Prince Kropotkin,⁴ whose opinion is based upon research in those regions, believes it to have been possible that the sea of Aral communicated in historical times with the Mortvyi Kulduk Gulf of the Caspian via lakes Chumyshty and Asmantai and the Ust Urt plateau, and that this communication was in existence

¹ This was, of course, effected by a gradual process of erosion along a line of least resistance and not by any sudden catastrophe. See Frazer, *J.R.A.S.* i. xlvii. p. 278. The most recent geological pronouncement on the question states: 'the depression of the region, changing the Bosphorus from a river to a strait, is placed in the recent past during the existence of men.' Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, 1905, p. 26.

² It is interesting in this respect to note that the project of uniting the Caspian with the Euxine by a canal existed in the time of Seleucus. See Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 19.

³ 'As regards the basin of Aral, it is evident that, after the opening of the Bosphorus and its consequent separation from the Caspian, it would have been placed and would have remained in its present state of isolation had not the quantity of water it received from the tributary rivers filled it up to overflowing and so caused its junction in another way with the Caspian.' Wood, *op. cit.* p. 124.

⁴ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (ed. 1902) ('Lake Aral').

as late as the sixteenth century, leading Antony Jenkinson to confuse the waters of Aral with the Caspian itself.

A further connexion was almost certainly obtained via Lake Sarykamish and the Uzboi channel to the Balkhan Bay, though this line of connexion would more correctly be considered as a river, being the main stream of the Oxus, flowing either through Lake Aral or directly to the Caspian.¹

The existence of this Aralo-Caspian Sea in the time of Herodotus thus suggests that he intended his dimensions to describe a sea that had its greatest length on an axis running North-east and South-west and including Lake Aral. That such a sea existed in his time is the general belief of geologists² at the present day, and seems to be the inference from the silence of history in regard to Lake Aral. It should be remembered, however, that the whole of the eastern side of the Aralo-Caspian sea would be extremely shallow³ and the actual channel of junction of the two seas would have been little more than an immense reed-covered marsh of the type described by Herodotus as in the territory of the Budini, or at the mouth of the Araxes.⁴ Marshes of this nature are characteristic of Central Asia, as, for instance, in the delta of the Amu Daria where tracts several hundred miles in extent of reed-covered marsh-land are periodically inundated by the river. The gradual desiccation (see Fig. 1) of Central Asia led some time in the Middle Ages to the drying up of the marshy channel and to the consequent isolation of the two basins. The actual dating of the final separation of the two basins may probably be assigned to the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D., and the Lake of Kithay, which is the earliest name of Aral, does not occur until the sixteenth century,⁵ while the name Aral itself is not common until the eighteenth century.⁶ The two waters, however, may

¹ The vexed question as to the course taken by the Oxus is dealt with below.

² It is only fair to state, however, that in the middle of last century the opinion of geologists was not unanimous. Thus Rawlinson (*Proc. R.G.S.* 1867, March) held that the sea of Aral separated off from the Caspian in the Middle Ages, while Murchison (*Journal R.G.S.* 1867) held that both seas had a separate existence in prehistoric times.

³ Quintus Curtius tells us that the Caspian has but little depth on its northern side (vi. 4. 19).

⁴ iv. 109 and i. 202.

⁵ See Sven Hedin, *op. cit.* Pl. XXVI., Pl. XX., p. 183. Gerhard Mercator gives a lake called Kichai, near Tashkent. See also Wood, *op. cit.* p. 143.

⁶ The evidence of cartographers would obviously be insufficient for this dating. It is, however, strengthened by Rawlinson's view (see note 2). Minns accepts this general view as to the existence in historical times of an Aralo-Caspian Sea: *Greeks and Scythians*, p. 10. The name

have remained in a condition of semi-isolation (*i.e.* the marshes between were periodically inundated) for some time previous to the final desiccation; but it seems clear, that in the first century of the Christian era the Aralo-Caspian Sea was more or less one sea, while the descriptions of the Caspian in Strabo, Pomponius Mela and Pliny suggest in a very marked way that the shape of the Aralo-Caspian Sea was at that time more or less triangular, with the north-eastern corner of Aral and the north-western corner of the Caspian near Astrakhan, forming two corners,

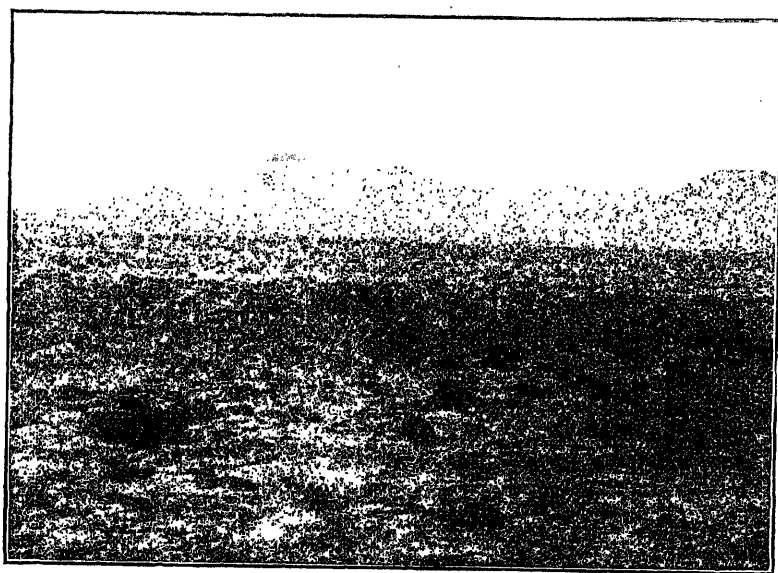


FIG. 1.—HILLS ON THE CASPIAN SHORE NEAR BAKU, SHOWING THE PLAIN
ORIGINALLY COVERED BY THE SEA.

while the south-eastern corner of the Caspian near Chikishlyar formed the southern corner. In the middle, between the Sarykamish and Mortvyi Kulduk channels, the plateau of Ust Urt would resemble an island or perhaps an archipelago.

(ii) The problems connected with the Oxus have already been dealt

Aral occurs on the *Carte Nouvelle de l'Asie Septentrionale*, 1726 (Sven Hedin, *op. cit.* Pl. XLIII.), and is mentioned in the poetical account of his travels by a Greek, Vassili Vatatsis, who visited Turkestan about 1725–1730. (See S. P. Lambros, *Mikrai Hellas*, p. 596). He claims to have been the first 'to bring information about Aral to the learned men of Oxford and London.' I am indebted to Professor Andreades of the National University, Athens, for this reference.

with exhaustively by Mr. Tarn,¹ who states that 'recent investigations appear to have rendered it fairly certain that the Oxus never flowed into our Caspian within any historical period, though it may have sent and probably did send a branch westwards, into the Sarykamish depression, then either a lake or a part of the Aral,' and again, 'we may take it as fairly certain that the Oxus never reached the Caspian by any of the three routes.'²

This view seems to me to depend too much upon an interpretation of the physical peculiarities of the rivers of Central Asia in the light of European physical characteristics, and disregards a large volume of Arabian evidence of the Middle Ages as to actual changes of the Oxus. It further lays too much emphasis on the alternative of flowing either into the Aral or into the Caspian, whereas it seems fairly clear that in the time of Herodotus the two basins were joined, and therefore the Oxus could be said to run into both. The point at issue is whether the actual course of the Oxus ran more or less due North towards the North-eastern apex of the Aralo-Caspian Sea (near its present outlet), or whether it ran South-west to the southern side or apex of the triangular sea, near Balkhan bay or the mouth of the Atrek. In both cases it could be said in antiquity to run 'into the Caspian.' Nevertheless, there is evidence to show that between 500 B.C. and the present day the Oxus has changed its direction from North to South-west and *vice-versa* at least three times.

Whether the Oxus flowed South-west in the time of Herodotus or not is uncertain. Evidence is wanting, and one is hardly justified in the inference from the statement³ that the Caspian and the Araxes (? Oxus) form the southern boundary of the Caspian, that the Oxus entered the southern half of the Aralo-Caspian Sea at this period.⁴ Some time, however, between 500 B.C. and 900 A.D. at least one change took place, and the

¹ *J.H.S.* xxi. pp. 10 and 12.

² *I.e.* (i) the Uzboi channel from Lake Sarykamish; (ii) the Unguz channel, which is 44 m. below the level of the Caspian, across the Karakum sands; (iii) from Charjui along the line now followed by the Central Asiatic Railway *via* Merv and Askhabad, and with the rivers Tejend and Murghab as tributaries. There are, however, two other possible routes, viz. (iv) from Charjui to Kizil Arvat (as in No. iii) and thence between Kopet Dag and Kuren Dag to the bed of the present river Sumbar and to the sea at Chikishlyar; (v) from Charjui due West across the Karakum sands to the Igdy wells, thus joining up with the Uzboi channel (No. (i) above).

³ *iv.* 40.

⁴ Arrian distinctly says that both the Oxus and the Jaxartes flow into the Caspian (*Anabasis*, iii. 29, 3 and iii. 30, 7). This affords no evidence as to the direction of flow of the Oxus, but is strong proof of the existence of an Aralo-Caspian Sea.

Oxus flowed along a channel which brought it out in Balkhan bay, since Mukadaṣī (an Arabian writer of the tenth century) relates that in former times the main stream of the Oxus had flowed down to a town in Khurāsān called Balkhān,¹ though in his day it no longer flowed in this direction.

In the year 1220 the Oxus again changed its course, this time owing to a combination of natural and artificial causes. In this year the city of Urgenj (between Sarykamish and the present Oxus) was sacked and destroyed by the Mongols and the river was intentionally diverted, the overflow running South-west into the Uzboi channel, while a small part only continued its course northwards. Yākūt, a contemporary of these events, refers to the Oxus as flowing into the Caspian, while Mustafwī, who lived in the fourteenth century, states that though part of the Oxus drained to the North, the main stream passed Old Urgenj, turned down a passage called the 'Steep of Halam,' presumably a cataract, and flowed thence for a distance of six days march to a place called Khalkhāl, a fishing station on the Caspian. He adds that the Oxus had thus changed its course after the Mongol invasion. Again, in 1405, the Spanish ambassador of Henry III. of Castile to Tīmūr, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo,² visited Samarkand and reported (from hearsay) that the Oxus flowed 'into the sea of Bakū' (clearly the southern Caspian), while in 1417, Hāfiz Abū states that the river which had discharged into Khwārizm (Aral) now flowed down 'by Kurbāvū to the Caspian.'

Some time after this date, the Oxus again reverted to its northern course, and in 1558, Antony Jenkinson speaks of it as 'not flowing into the Caspian Sea as it hath done in times past but to Lake Kithay.' This is confirmed by Abu-l-Ghāzī, a native of Urgenj, in 1576. Since this date no subsequent change of course has taken place, and we have evidence

¹ See Le Strange, *Land of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 455 *et seq.* Mr. Tarn's arguments against the Oxus having flowed to this outlet are based on the geological evidence of the Russian engineer M. Konshin, who examined the Dardji peninsula (the reputed outlet of the Oxus in Balkhan bay) and found no trace of fresh-water deposits or river shells. It should be remembered, however, firstly that this is negative evidence only and in consequence not infallible, and secondly that the bay was almost certainly of greater extent inland, being part of the Aralo-Caspian Sea, so that a search for fresh-water shells would in any case be fruitless. In fact, Mr. Tarn himself says that a rise in the Caspian of only 20·17 metres would take the sea up the Balkhan bay as far as the small lake called Topiatan.

² *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo to the Court of Timur*, published by the Hakluyt Society, p. 118.

confirming the continued northern direction of flow from various travellers.¹ At least three changes of direction, therefore, are recorded,² and it is worthy of note that in 1834³ the floods of the Oxus were so high that the Uzboi channel was filled for some distance and one part, at least, of the process by which the Oxus changes its flow was seen in operation.

In the light of this examination of the main physical problems at issue in the Caspian area it becomes possible to review the information Herodotus gives concerning the tribes who inhabit these regions.

§ 2.—TRIBES IN THE CASPIAN AREA.

In the fourth book⁴ of his histories Herodotus gives a consecutive account of the tribes living in the lands which, he says,⁵ are not properly those of Scythia. These lands lie the other side of the Don and the first territory entered, after crossing the Don, is that of the Sauromatae, commencing at the upper end of Azov and stretching northwards for a distance of fifteen days' journey.

At the outset it should be remembered that the course of the Don from its mouth to Kalatch (its nearest point to the Volga) is in a north-easterly direction. Only above Kalatch can it be said to flow either from the North or the North-west. Information sufficiently detailed to verify this would hardly have been in possession of geographers in the fifth century B.C., and it seems in every way probable that Herodotus thought the Don flowed not only generally from the North, but for the most part from the North-west, since according to his description, after crossing the Don one enters the lands of the Sauromatae which extend to the *North* and next to them come the Budini beyond whom, *πρὸς βορρην*, is a desert.

¹ E.g. Jonas Hanway in 1743 and Reynolds and Hogg in 1640, quoted by Wood, *op. cit.* p. 224.

² The whole of this evidence can be summarised conveniently as follows :—

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Flow of Oxus.</i>	<i>Authority.</i>
? ? ?	S.W.	Mukadasî
900–1000 A.D.	N.	Mukadasî
1220–1300 A.D.	S.W.	Mustafwî and Yâkût
1405	S.W.	Gonzales de Clavijo
1417	S.W.	Hâfiz Abû
1558	N.	Jenkinson
1576	N.	Abu-l-Ghâzî

³ Wood, *op. cit.* p. 228.

⁴ Ch. 21 *et seq.*

⁵ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν διαβάδντι οὐκέτι Σκυθικῇ.

In other words, at the beginning of his description of Scythia beyond the Don, he sets his map wrongly and takes his readers in a direction that lies North or North-west. To anyone crossing the Don between its mouth and Kalatch (and it is most improbable that Herodotus referred to the upper reaches of the river) the natural direction can only be East or South-east if the traveller wishes to go straight ahead without recrossing the river. Some inkling of this false setting of the map seems to have found its way into his narrative when he repeatedly modifies the northwards tendency by trying to reset his map so as to take the traveller more to the East. Thus beyond the desert to the North of the Budini one finds the Thyssagetæ a little to the East: *μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ἀποκλίνοντι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον*.¹ Beyond the Thyssagetæ and Iyrcae, again, a little further round to the East still, dwells another tribe: *ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄλλοι*. Herodotus has thus almost neutralised the original fault of direction caused by his erroneous idea of the lie of the Don, and has succeeded in bringing his traveller on to a route running almost due East.

The Sauromatæ can thus be placed fairly accurately in the lands of the Don Cossacks and the habitable parts of the prairies of Astrakhan,² where commentators on Herodotus have invariably placed them.

With the Budini, however, we are at once involved in difficulties. The tribe is reached by following a route which, according to Herodotus, follows a northerly course and sweeps round in a curve towards the East. Thus the Budini, one supposes, would lie somewhere near the Volga in the region of Tsaritsyn or even higher. Minns³ places them, in this way, in the neighbourhood of Kazan, while according to another scholar⁴ they are near Saratov. Macan put them on the upper waters of a Don which runs due North and South.⁵

Such identifications as the above leave out of account the initial error of direction made by Herodotus in his alignment of the Don, and are based only on the partial correction by Herodotus of his own faulty orientation. Herodotus thought the Don ran from the North-west, whereas

¹ Ch. 22.

² It is unlikely that much of the province was ever inhabited to any extent, as between the Volga and the northern boundary of the Stavropol province it is for the most part, except in the coastal region, a salt and unfertile plain.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 104.

⁴ Westberg, quoted by Minns, *op. cit.* p. 113 (note).

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 32, Map II.

that part of it which concerns his geography runs from the North-east. If he corrects his orientation of what lies across the Don sufficiently to make his traveller into extra-Scythia move more approximately due East there still remains a margin of error uncorrected, which, when corrected, would bring the traveller into a direction running either South-east or East-south-east.

The Budini, therefore, with the alien city of Gelonus in their midst, must be looked for somewhere North of the Caucasus range and South of the lower reaches¹ of the Volga. Their physical characteristics (*γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστί καὶ πυρρόν*) are not unsuited to this area which is to-day inhabited by tribes of much the same physical characteristics. Herodotus himself, however, gives what may be a clue to their whereabouts. This land of the Budini, he says, is bordered on the North by a desert seven days' journey in extent, with the Thyssagetæ slightly to the East of it.² In the woodiest part of their territory is a broad deep lake³ with marshes and reeds on its banks. Here otters and beavers are caught *καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνόπρῳπα*. The skins of these square-faced animals are used for the lining of coats.

On the assumption, based on preceding arguments, that this tribe can be placed somewhere near the province of Astrakhan, the immense marshes on the shores of the Caspian between Astrakhan and Kizilyar at once suggest themselves as identical with the marshy lake Herodotus describes. The 'other square-faced animals' are obviously seals, which are common in the North Caspian; in fact the seal fisheries still form (or did until 1914) a large and active industry.⁴ The 'lake' thus becomes the Caspian, which is not mentioned by name in the description of extra-Scythia. This omission is explained in conformity with the preceding arguments, according to which Herodotus himself was driven by his false orientation to place the Budini inland to the North, thus being compelled to bring into line his information concerning them. He must have been still further confused by the fact that in lakes such as Lake Manitch (which

¹ *I.e.* the Volga between Tsaritsyn and Astrakhan.

² iv. 22.

³ iv. 109.

⁴ A collection of implements used in this industry and of photographs is in the museum at Ashkhabad in Transcaspia. The North Caspian is usually frozen up until April, and the Volga is only open in May. For the suggestion that Herodotus here refers to the seal fisheries, see Wood, *op. cit.* p. 131. A remarkable parallel to this passage occurs in the works of the seventeenth century Turkish traveller Evliya Effendi. Referring to the shores of the Caspian, he says, 'the shore is covered with bones and carcasses of strange kinds *with square and pentagonal heads*.' *Travels* (Ed. von Hammer, 1850, ii. p. 164).

is clearly within the confines of the Budini) otters and beavers were probably caught, and that Gelonus is almost certainly an inland stronghold. It is, of course, impossible to verify the site of Gelonus itself; had it been on the site of Astrakhan it seems impossible that the Volga would not have been mentioned. A more likely site is, perhaps, the ancient and little-known ruined city of Madzhar, on the river Kuma just inside the northern boundaries of Stavropol province, and near the village of Burgonmadjari. This place (visited and described by Klaproth¹) was clearly a large and important city in the Middle Ages and may well have been on the site of Gelonus. In any case the Greek characteristics of Gelonus, as described by Herodotus, suggest that it was more or less within reach of Greek trade centres,² and Madzhar actually lies on the eastern line of communications from the Cimmerian Bosphorus right across North Caucasia by way of the Kuban and Kuma rivers to the Caspian.

The result of this analysis of the account of the Budini suggests at once that the historian has unknowingly given us a description, meagre it is true, but accurate as far as it goes, of the northern end of the Caspian, thus filling, to a certain extent, the missing gap in his account of that sea.

With this *point d'appui* to start from, it will be interesting to see how the other extra-Scythian tribes can be fitted into a revised orientation of Herodotus's map.

To the North of the Budini, he says, is a desert of seven days' journey in breadth. For North, according to the revised orientation, we should understand a direction North-east or very nearly East. This would bring us to the head of the Caspian, the desert in question corresponding fairly closely with the entirely desolate area between Astrakhan and Guriev. Here the second 'turn to the East' indicated in the text of Herodotus brings us well round the north end of the Caspian to the Thyssagetæ, a tribe of nomad hunters who occupied the land now peopled by the Little Horde of the Kirghiz. Adjoining them is a similar tribe, the Iyrcae. The fact that the country is said to be well wooded

¹ *Travels in Caucasus and Georgia* (English translation by Shober, 1814), p. 224.

² Minns (p. 104) puts Gelonus at Kazan, which seems too far to be under Greek influence in so marked a way as Herodotus describes. Wood (*op. cit.* p. 131) suggests Urgenj, but this is equivalent to placing the Budini in the territory of the Massagetæ, and is, in any case, on the wrong side of the Caspian.

suggests that these tribes lived well away from the Caspian in the direction of Uralsk.

A further 'turn to the East,' this time bringing the traveller almost East-south-east and 'beyond' the Iyrcae, we meet a Scythian enclave, by race Royal Scyths. These people, we must assume, lived well North of what is now the Ust Urt plateau and along the northern shores of the Aralo-Caspian Sea.

From the territory of these Royal Scyths onwards, says Herodotus, one leaves what are comparatively fertile lands and enters upon a region that is stony and rugged. After passing a great extent of this rough country one reaches the land of the Argippaei. Here all trace of direction is admittedly lost and we might be going North-east, South-east, or even South. Hitherto we have had mapped out for us a journey from Azov to the north end of the Aralo-Caspian Sea. We are at this point cut adrift as regards direction and can only conjecture.

The only district that is trackless waste in comparison with other districts in the Caspian region is the vast stretch of desert South-east and South of Aral, the Kizilkum and Karakum sands, the lands where Timur and Ghengis Khan rose to power. Herodotus has admittedly only isolated scraps of information and no geography worthy the name to give about the tribes in this area. Probably his information is derived almost entirely from traders' tales.¹ That he knew of part of this great desert system is obvious from his description of the East side of the Caspian which, he says, *πεδίον ἐκδέκεται πλήθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν*.² (See Fig. 4.) He further places the Massagetae somewhere in these plains.

After the enclave of the Royal Scyths, then, comes an unknown extent of desert with the Argippaei dwelling at the other end of it at the foot of lofty mountains. The tendency has been on the part of some commentators to continue South-east to the Altai mountains, finding in them the mountains referred to and placing the Argippaei at their foot. This may well be so, but it seems that perhaps too much ground is being covered and one is entering regions too distant for the passage even of travellers' tales. Other critics favour the main range of the Urals, but this, apart from the direction, seems to cover too little ground for the

¹ That he is dependent on traders for most of his information about the tribes between the Don and the Argippaei is clear from i. 24, where he tabulates his authorities as (a) Scythians, (b) Greeks from the Borysthenes, (c) Greeks from other Euxine towns.

² i. 204.

description. However this may be, it is as well to look nearer the last recorded geographical features, since Herodotus, at least as far as the land of the Argippaei, is avowedly giving a *continuous* account,¹ which would read coherently to one taking a journey through the lands in question. He even implies quite unambiguously, that the journey was regularly made by Scythians, who used seven interpreters before reaching the Argippaei.

If we look nearer into the regions already described by Herodotus we find that across the great desert of Western Turkestan is a very prominent and clearly marked mountain range forming the southern boundary of the desert of Karakum. This is the Kopet Dagħ range which forms the northern boundary of modern Persia and continues to the East along the northern frontier of Afghanistan. Along the foot of this range, from the Caspian to the Oxus, dwell the bulk of the Turkoman tribes. These tribes are for the most part nomadic, although a large proportion became sedentary under Russian imperial rule, which encouraged corn and cotton growing.²

Now the most important distinguishing features of the Argippaei in the description of Herodotus are as follows:—

(a) *Appearance*. They are bald and have flat noses and long chins.

(b) *Habits*. They eat fruit, and in particular prepare a drink made of the juice of fruit mixed with milk and called in their language ἄσχυ. They live in huts made of wood and felt.

All these characteristics, it is true, might apply equally well to any of the Turkic tribes in Central and Western Turkestan. The general geographical description, however, and the absence of flocks and good pasture-lands which Herodotus particularly notes,³ strengthens the attribution of these racial characteristics to the lands of the Turkomans. A further point, which has already in part been noted by Minns,⁴ is that the name of the drink ἄσχυ strongly resembles the Turkish word *Eksli* meaning 'sour' or another Turkish word *Aji* meaning 'bitter.' The modern Turkoman has enough Mongol blood in him to make the type approximate quite well with the flat-nosed, long-chinned type of Argippaeian and it is remarkable that the modern Turkoman, if not bald from birth, is at any rate shaved

¹ iv. 24. μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων πολλὴ περιφάνεια τῆς χώρας ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθε ἐθνέων.

² Their nomadic habits have been largely revived during the last two years owing to the insecurity caused by recent political upheavals in the province.

³ iv. 23.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 109.

bald in order to wear the skull cap which is part of the sheepskin headdress universally worn.

It is obvious, however, that any identification of the Argippaei with the Turkomans presupposes the presence in the same area in the fifth century B.C. of a Turkic type; and history can by no means substantiate this assumption. It is not unreasonable to assume, however, that the Turkoman of Karakum may have adopted habits and customs of his predecessors in those regions. The word *δοχῦ* in particular, belonging as it does to the 'domestic' class, may itself be pre-Turkic in origin, taken over with other things by the Turkic invader.¹

The house-type of the Argippaei agrees more or less in detail with that generally in use among all Turkic tribes in Turkestan, though a more

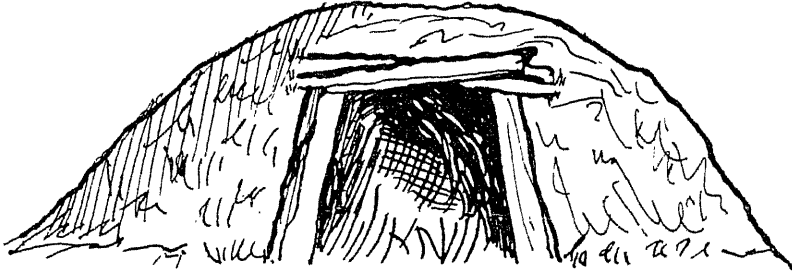


FIG. 2.—TATAR HUT TYPE IN THE MUGAN STEPPE.

exact parallel survives in the Caucasus in the steppe country between Tiflis and Baku (see Figs. 2, 3). It may have found its way westwards to the Caucasus, owing to the pressure from the East of Turkic invaders.

On the assumption, then, that the route given us by Herodotus has curved right round to the South-east, and that, as far as its detailed description is based on the observation of travellers and merchants, it ends in the land of the Argippaei in Western Turkestan, we can now approach the vaguer regions beyond the Turkomans. Beyond the Argippaei lies country of which no one can give any account, and about which Herodotus has only heard stories that are little more than tribal legends and lack the authenticity of traders' reports. He dismisses most of these tales in the same critical spirit in which he summarised the

¹ If the derivation of the name Oxus from the Turkic word Aksu is correct, we may have an example of a pre-Greek Turkic word.

value of the descriptions of Aristeas. All he states as fact is that immediately *to the East* of the Argippaei come the Issedones. Since he has already said that beyond the Argippaei further progress is barred by lofty and impassable mountains it is clear that the Issedones can hardly be the other side of this barrier, which he has told us shuts off a region about which no one can give any account.

If then the Argippaei are to be placed somewhere on the foothills of the mountains on the North of Persia and Afghanistan, the Issedones,

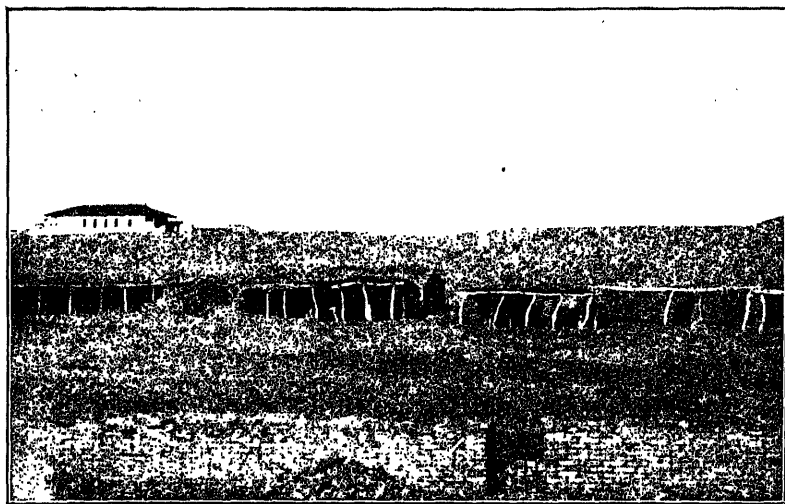


FIG. 3.—TATAR HUTS IN THE MUGAN STEPPE BETWEEN TIFLIS AND BAKU.

being to the East of the former tribe, would be somewhere along the Upper Oxus valley between Merv and Balkh, a district rich in pre-historic sites. This allocation is strengthened by another passage in Herodotus¹ where he says that the Massagetae dwell beyond the river Araxes and opposite to the Issedonès: The Araxes thus would indisputably be the Oxus and the Massagetae would live near Kizilkum in the fertile regions of Bokhara and Khiva, 'opposite' here meaning 'on the opposite side of the plains,' *i.e.* to the North-east.² The impassable mountain barrier behind both the Argippaei and the Issedones, as shown

¹ i. 201. οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, πέραν τοῦ Ἀράξω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν.

² Minns, for no very clear reason, interprets 'opposite' as 'to the West.'

above, would be the mountains that shut off Meshed, Herat and Kabul from the plains of Turkestan. The 'unknown tract' which lies to the North may well be the broken country North and North-west of Kizilkum, *i.e.* beyond the Massagetae and between Aral and Balkash; so Herodotus appears at last, after repeatedly correcting his orientation, to have got his direction approximately correct. The fact that Croesus advised Cyrus to cross the Araxes and fight the Massagetae in their own land agrees with the allocation of this tribe across the Oxus.

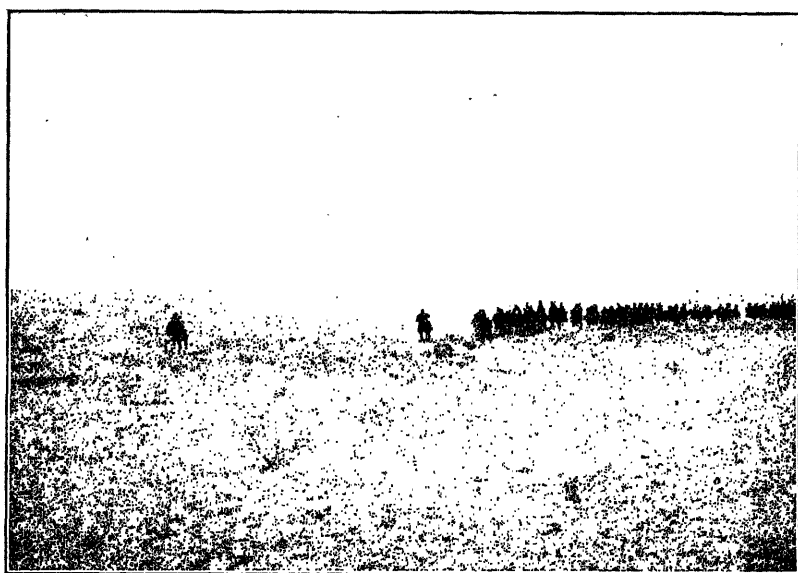


FIG. 4.—HORSEMEN IN THE DESERT (NEAR MERV) EAST OF THE CASPIAN.

Beyond the Issedones came the Arimaspi and the Hyperborei about whom the less said the better. Herodotus frankly warns his readers that he has already entered into the realm of folk-lore and left that of anthropology.¹ They may be imagined as anywhere in the Altai or Pamir regions. The name, at least, seems to have survived in the

¹ It is curious that in Bk. iii. 17 the description of the river Akes, which is somewhere near the Caspian, comes immediately after an account of the Arimaspi. Information about both has every appearance of being derived from folk stories, and it is tempting to think that Herodotus had the Arimaspi entered up in his notebooks under the heading 'Notes from Transcaspia.'

Ἀργίππαι Εὐεργέται who helped Alexander, and who certainly lived on the West side of the Pamir barrier.¹

The climate of the whole of the area from Azov to the Argippaei is summed up in Herodotus when he says that it is subject to severe winter; the sea² and the Cimmerian Bosphorus alike are frozen over.

A word of comment seems necessary here. The whole region dealt with is subject to a variety of climates and it would be unwise in any case to generalise. But in case the objection is raised to the inclusion of western Turkestan in this summary, it should be remembered that most intense cold prevails in the Karakum and Kizilkum deserts in winter and that even in the lowest parts the snow is seldom off the ground before the middle of March.³ Herodotus, however, is influenced by the information which he had in most detail, and which concerned more the North end of the Caspian and North Caucasia where the rigours of winter are more extreme than in Turkestan. Nevertheless the extreme heat in summer in the plains of Turkestan in no sense implies a moderate winter, and the description of Herodotus, while more applicable to Scythia proper, is in no sense inapplicable to Turkestan.

The result of the above analysis, therefore, is to bring within a smaller compass the areas occupied by these tribes. In view of the difficulty with which information could reach Herodotus and of the small areas usually covered by information derived from folk-memory, this seems not unreasonable. To give vast areas to tribes seems to accord ill with tribal conditions. According to recent critics,⁴ the Issedones alone are given a territory as large as the extent of Asia between the Aegaeon and the Caspian and are placed East of the Pamir ridge. It seems better to look closer to hand for their home.

In conclusion it may be useful to summarise the views here put forward:—

The theory of a united Aralo-Caspian Sea in the time of Herodotus and for some considerable time afterwards is based on sound geological grounds and goes far to explain the curious silence of antiquity in regard

¹ Arrian, *Anabasis*, iii. 27, 4.

² Presumably the Euxine, though it is curious that he calls it simply ἡ θάλασσα (iv. 28).

³ I saw snow about this time on the lower hills of Kopet Dag, and the plains were in places still covered with pools of water.

⁴ E.g. Minns, *op. cit.* (see maps). He identifies the Issedones with the Yüeh Chih on the Tarim river.

to Aral, it also explains many of the traditional difficulties in regard to the Caspian. At the same time, it reduces the sharpness of the antithesis according to which the flow of the Oxus was into either Aral or Caspian. The actual change of the Oxus itself thus becomes a problem of less importance to history.

The fixing of one of the extra-Scythian tribes at the head of the Caspian, makes possible a revised grouping of other tribes. The real, as opposed to the imagined, direction of flow of the Don together with the half-realisation of Herodotus himself that something was wrong, still further strengthens this regrouping. This, in turn, leads to a possible identification of the lands of the Argippaei with Western Turkestan along the marches of Persia and Afghanistan, and of the lands of the Issedones with the plains West of the Altai and Pamir.

The value of the travellers' and traders' tales used by Herodotus increases as a result of these points and the only weakness in what is otherwise a remarkably accurate account of the Caspian region, is seen to be the inability to interpret and correlate all the isolated scraps of evidence the historian had collected.

In view of the accuracy of Herodotus it is all the more remarkable that little more than a century later his information was disregarded. Alexander, ignorant of or distrusting the evidence of the historian, sent an expedition to ascertain whether the Caspian joined the Euxine.¹ The great general's ignorance of geography is not surprising when we find him later, confusing the Indus with the Nile.² The study of geography which had started so well in the fifth century had become sadly neglected in the fourth.

STANLEY CASSON.

¹ Arrian, *op. cit.* vii. 16, 1.

² *Ibid.* vi. 1. 2.

SOME BYZANTINE MUSICAL MANUSCRIPTS AT CAMBRIDGE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE whole subject of Byzantine music deserves far more attention from musicians than it has yet received. The richest store-houses of Byzantine musical manuscripts are the great monastic libraries of Athos, Patmos, and Sinai. There the copying of liturgical books was an important industry in the Middle Ages, and the monasteries, being also the centres of musical study, produced standard works for their own use, besides distributing them among the leading Churches in the Christian East. Valuable collections are also kept in the National Library at Athens, the Vatican, at Grotta-Ferrata, Vienna and Paris. But there are many other libraries in different parts of Europe into which a few Byzantine musical MSS. have found their way, and in our own land a few specimens have been lying for years or centuries, neglected and unread. Cambridge has a modest assortment of musical MSS. yet a sound beginning could be made with these by an earnest student.¹

For several centuries the Christian Church carried on its musical services by oral tradition without the help of written notation. Consequently we cannot tell, apart from vague conjecture, what the hymnody of those

¹ *Authorities*: for English readers the first account of the mediaeval music and notation will be supplied by my little book, *Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (with bibliography). Some good general remarks in J. M. Neale and S. G. Hatherly, *Hymns of the Eastern Church with Music*. On the modern Byzantine system see W. Christ and M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*; or P. Rebours, *Traité de Psaltique*.

My best thanks are due to Mr. C. Sayle (University Library), to Mr. Rider (Fitzwilliam Museum), to the Librarians of Gonville and Caius, Emmanuel and Trinity Colleges; and also to Mr. C. Hurry, Sub-librarian at Trinity, for much kind help.

The Council of Trinity College very obligingly sent me one of their MSS. to study at Edinburgh; Mr. S. Gaselee, of Magdalene, kindly lent his three MSS. to the University Library for my inspection.

times may have been. Nor can we expect Byzantine music to throw much light on the problems of the modes and systems of ancient Greece. The ancient Greek notation, which has survived in manuscripts and inscriptions, never seems to have been used by the Church, and Byzantine antiquaries speak of it as obsolete and unintelligible in their day. The earliest musical symbols of Christian origin were the *Ecphonetic* signs used for the declamation of the Scripture Lessons. These are found as early as the fifth century and were possibly the origin of the western Neumes, as well as of the later forms of Byzantine notation. But in themselves they seem to have had no definite musical value, and probably only gave a general guidance to the reader, as regards emphasis, pitch or expression. This class of manuscript is very numerous. The British Museum has at least six examples, some of them illuminated.¹ Cambridge has two; and of these the Fitzwilliam MS. (described below) is as good a specimen as could be desired. It seems clear that the recitation was largely in monotone, varied by certain ornamental formulae. Even these were few and probably very simple.

The next stage was reached in the tenth century (or a little earlier) by the invention of the Byzantine Neumes. These are not altogether unlike the Gregorian, and, like them, can probably be deciphered only with the aid of later versions. These Neumes passed through various phases of development; but they have long been a puzzle to students, and it is difficult to say anything positive about them at present.²

In Gregorian music, the device of writing the Neumes on lines enabled their musical value to be fixed. The early Russian Church by the red letters of Shaidurov could indicate the exact pitch of the highest note of a group.³ The Byzantine musicians invented a system in which the signs indicate not the notes but the intervals. This principle is fundamental in their music and survives in the modern notation which is still in use. The earlier mediaeval system with fixed interval-signs is usually called the *Round Notation* (also Hagiopolitan.) This is represented at Cambridge by the two Trinity MSS. and the fragments Add. 1879, 14 and 15. The Round Notation is the most important phase in the history of Byzantine

¹ See *Musical Antiquary*, 1911, p. 81.

² See my forthcoming article 'The Problem of Byzantine Neumes' in *J.H.S.* vol. xli. The Neumes are also called Linear System, Notation Mixte, Strichpunktnotation, etc. by different writers.

³ For the Russian notations see O. von Riesemann, *Die Notat. d. alt.-russ. Kirchen-sanges*. (No account accessible in English.)

music. All the chief hymns are found in it; and in view of the mass of material extant, there should be no difficulty in producing trustworthy versions which would place before us with virtual certainty the ecclesiastical music of the thirteenth and following centuries.

Our knowledge of this notation rests mainly on the mediaeval handbook called *Papadiké*, which occurs in many MSS. At Cambridge there is a copy in Trinity, 1165, and another, of less value, in Gg. 1.2.F. Although the explanations supplied by this manual are very incomplete (little or nothing being said about the modes or the rhythm) it gives us the essential information, namely the values of the interval-signs. In this way we can follow out the course of any melody in the Round Notation. The starting-point varied with the mode, the intervals being reckoned from the proper Finalis (which was also the last note of the piece). The mode was indicated by a signature called *Martyria*, giving the number of the mode and whether authentic or plagal. It seems probable that the mediaeval modes were alike in East and West; only the Byzantines retained the so-called chromatic mode (usually *e*, *f*, *g*, *a*-flat, *b*-natural, *c'*, etc.) as a by-form of the second plagal. Modern Greek Church music is full of irrational or enharmonic progressions ($\frac{3}{4}$ -tones, thirds of tones, etc.), but these are probably due to Oriental influence subsequent to the Turkish conquest.

The rhythm of Byzantine music in the Middle Ages seems to have been free, the only notes in use being equivalent to crotchet and quaver. Subdivisions and dotted notes can be traced about the fifteenth century and later. Attempts to prove the existence of a measured rhythm in bars have entirely failed and lack all foundation.¹

The Round Notation is represented at Cambridge by the two Trinity MSS. and two fragments at the University Library. Extracts from these in our notation are given below. Hymns in this notation are not only more important than those of later date, but also less ornate and much easier to decipher.

An offshoot of the Round System, usually called *Cucuzelian*, lasted from the end of the Middle Ages until the nineteenth century. The interval-signs are used as heretofore, but the rhythm becomes more complicated and chromatic passages more frequent. Tokens of declining taste are seen in the long florid ornamentations, often set to meaningless

¹ For discussion on rhythm see *B.S.A.* xxi. pp. 125 ff.; and for the modes, *ibid.* xxii. pp. 133 ff.

syllables. We can well imagine that the intolerably slow nasal singing, of which travellers in the Levant used to complain, was becoming usual. Cucuzeles, whose name is generally given to this system, was a famous singer and the author of vocal exercises. (His date is uncertain.) The *Papadiké*, or manual, already mentioned, is attributed to him by some writers, but it had probably passed through many hands before he completed and enlarged it.

The manuscripts of the Cucuzelian System differ in their contents from most of those in the Round System. One reason was that the latter could be understood by any one used to the former; so that the splendid hymn-books of the Middle Ages were not thrown aside on the invention of the new method. Efforts were made to cover new ground by the composition of musical liturgies and new settings for psalms, besides musical acclamations wishing long life to emperors or bishops (these were called *Polychronisms*). Thus the earlier Cucuzelian MSS. are of great value. But gradually the art seems to decline, and small collections, often poorly written and musically worthless, take the place of complete works. Here belong the numerous *Anthologies*, often containing the *Papadiké* and practice-examples, together with various selections of psalms or hymns. Several specimens of this class are found at Cambridge.

Finally in the nineteenth century a new system was invented by Chrysanthus and published in 1821. The author, a Greek archimandrite, was acquainted with Turkish and European music as well as Byzantine; and his object was to make a compromise between the mediæval tradition and the practice of his own day, in which Oriental influence was uppermost. He reduced the number of interval-signs and rhythmical-marks, but he invented new symbols for enharmonic progressions and also introduced a species of sol-fa, adapted to the Greek language, but obviously borrowed from the West. After some opposition, his reformed notation was approved by the Patriarch and has held sway in the Church ever since. One manuscript of this system is mentioned below¹; but as type was very soon manufactured for the Chrysanthine notation, it can be studied more easily in printed books. Recently a good deal of criticism has been levelled at the inventor, partly because he perpetuated the Oriental features of the music of his own day and partly because he is supposed to have misunderstood some of the laws of ancient Greek music

¹ See p. 201.

that he tried to follow. There is no doubt that the tonality of the modern system and its rhythm are confused and difficult; and, if Chrysanthus did not originate this confusion, he at any rate failed to cure it.¹

All the music so far described is vocal and unisonic. There may be a single performer, or a choir singing in unison, while a few voices lend the support of a drone.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century a movement arose for the introduction of harmonised singing into the Greek Church. The traditional melodies were transcribed into European notation, all oddities, whether of rhythm or tonality, were obliterated, and a few common chords were added. The more far-seeing Greek musicians, recognising that such a proceeding was utterly against the musical sense of the nation, have never countenanced the movement; but others, in despair at the poor rendering of the traditional melodies in many churches, have fallen in with this supposed reform. Fortunately a good style of singing has never been entirely lost; and at the present time a revival of interest in Greek folk-songs (which have preserved many Byzantine elements) augurs well for the future both of sacred and secular music in the Greek East.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

Coming now to the manuscripts themselves we find first of all two specimens of the *Ecphonic* notation (Maclean, 1 and Add. 1840), already mentioned, but none of the Neumes. In the Round System there are the two Trinity MSS. and the two fragments 1879 : 14 and 15. The earlier musical MSS., as far as we know them, are confined to two classes²: (a) *Sticheraria*, containing the Idiomela (or hymns with proper tunes) for the fixed days (*i.e.* those of the Menaea) and also for the movable days for Lent and Holy Week (*i.e.* those of the Triodion) and thirdly for Eastertide (*i.e.* those of the Pentecostarion) and fourthly an appendix giving the Octoechus (this is the Ferial service arranged by a rotation of the eight modes) and including the *Eothina* of Leo. The Menaea, Triodion and Pentecostarion are the names of the office-books

¹ Anyone wishing to study the modern system can gain a general idea from Chrysanthus' book, the *Theoretikon Mega* (in Modern Greek) or from the works already mentioned; but for practical purposes a few lessons from a Greek preceptor are necessary.

² For further explanation see *Musical Antiquary*, 1913, p. 205; and J. M. Neale, *History of Holy Eastern Church*, Part I. 2.

themselves; when they are found complete in manuscript, only the Idiomela have music. (*b*) *Hirmologus* or *Hirmologium*. This contains the Hirmi or typical verses of the Canons. A Canon is a hymn nominally of nine odes (the second was usually missing) based on the canonical canticles (beginning with the Song of Miriam and ending with the Magnificat). Each ode in the Canon consisted of a Hirmus and two or more Troparia or verses in the same metre and to the same tune as the Hirmus. For the singer therefore only a collection of the Hirmi was needed. These are always arranged by modes in the MSS. For the other musical parts of the service the mediaeval singer trusted to memory and tradition. It is of course obvious that the Idiomela, most of which only came once a year, could not have been remembered so easily as the psalms and responses which recurred frequently.

For the Cucuzelian System our specimens show rather more variety. The *Anthologies* are represented by Add. 2936, Add. 3051 and Gaselee MS. No. 3. A short selection of Idiomela for the most important festivals is seen in Gaselee No. 1. In the declining days of Greek music it was no longer found possible to provide music for all the Idiomela on all Saints' days; so only the most important were sung, the rest being merely read over from the Menaem.

It is probable that Gg. 1. 2. F is the beginning of an *Anthology*, the theoretical part often having first place; while the Emmanuel fragment may belong to the same class.

The names of many composers of the Cucuzelian era are known to us. The MS. Add. 1951 contains the names of: Cladas (singer at S. Sophia's, date dub.); Balasius (c. 1660, of the Peloponnese); and Chrysaphes (elder, fifteenth century, younger, c. 1600). These names are frequently found in MSS. Such musicians invented new tunes for existing words.

CATALOGUE.

University Library.

Gg. 1. 2. F: Paper, large 8vo. Contains the *Papadiké*, with exercises by Cucuzeles and others (ff. 1-8): A late musical treatise (ff. 9-16): Musical exercises (ff. 16b-20). (The remainder of the volume is unconnected with music.) The musical portion is in two or three hands, the earliest being probably late fifteenth century.

Add. 1840: Gospel I.ectionary or Evangelistarium. Probably twelfth century. Fine writing in two columns: text in black, ecphonetic signs in red.

Add. 1879, 14: Fragment of eight torn leaves of a parchment 8vo. *Sticherarium*; probably early fourteenth century. This is written in palimpsest, the lines running parallel to the older writing. Not a single hymn remains complete. The fragment contains the end of the Pentecostarium and the beginning of the Octoechus (the *stichera anastasima*, etc.).

Add. 1879, 15: One leaf of parchment 8vo. *Sticherarium*: probably fourteenth century. Round Notation. Contains hymns with music for Saints' Days, viz.: Oct. 12th, SS. Probus, Tarachus and Andronicus (words by Anatolius); Oct. 13th, Carpus and Papyrus; Oct. 14th, Nazarius, Gerbasius, etc.; Oct. 16th, Longinus.

Text in black: subsidiary signs and variants to music in red (faded). Smaller hand than Add. 1879, 14 and probably later. This leaf is a palimpsest, the second hand crossing the first.

Add. 2936: Paper 12mo. *Anthologium* of select hymns set to music by Demetrius Protopsaltes (of Crete) and others. Very small writing. 156 ff. Date 1704 on f. 149. Incomplete at both ends. Text in black, subsidiary signs in red.

Most of the composers are not mentioned by Gastoué in his list of Greek musicians (*Introd. à la Paléogr. Mus. Byz.* p. 68) nor in any of the British Museum MSS. nor by G. Papadopoulos in his *Symbolai* (Hist. of Byz. Mus. in Mod. Gk.). It seems likely therefore that the MS. contains the work of an obscure group of local precentors, some of whom evidently belonged to Crete. Their names (as far as I can read them) are as follows: Demetrius of Crete (steward and precentor), Benedictus Episcopopulus (Precentor of Rethymna¹), John Marchetti of Corfu, Titus Diaconus (called Tsekalas), Nicolas the Priest, Antonius Episcopopulus, Michael Papadopoulos, Barannes, Andrew the Priest (called Morotzannetes), Theodorus Calamaras, Nicolas Strianus, Gorgostares. One or two well-known names also occur: Anthimus (Gastoué mentions a musician of this name: date dub.). John Cucuzeles; and words by SS. Cosmas and John of Damascus.

Add. 3051: Fragment of an *Anthologium*. 8vo, 16 ff. Probably seventeenth century. Contains Kekragaria (*i.e.* setting of Psalm 141, used at Vespers) in Modes II. plagal and IV. plagal.; beginning of Liturgy of S. Chrysostom; Koinonika by Cladas and Balasius; a Cherubic Hymn² by Chrysaphes.

Fitzwilliam Museum.

MacLean, No. 1: Gospel Lectionary or Evangelistarium: parchment, semi-uncial. Text in black, ecphonetic signs in red. Excellent specimen of the ecphonetic notation: probably ninth century.

Gonville and Caius.

772 plus 815: This is all one MS., probably of seventeenth century. A *Hirmologus*, containing select Hirmi (here called Catavasiae) in all modes. Cucuzelian notation, but simple style. Signatures and subsidiary signs in red. M. R. James, *Catalogue* p. 23, gives a full description of this MS.

¹ Or Rethymno, in Crete.

² For these classes of Hymns see the introductions by Neale and W. Christ, *op. cit.*

Emmanuel.

- 109, f. 132b: A single page containing a Polychronism in honour of a bishop. Probably eighteenth century. Cucuzelian Notation. Some variants to music. The hymn seems to be incomplete.

Trinity.

- 256, B. 11. 17: *Sticherarium*, paper 8vo., probably fourteenth century. Text in black, subsidiary signs in red. Begins with Stichera of the Menaeum from Sept. 1st. On f. 195 begin the Stichera of the Triodion and Pentecostarium (not complete). F. 296 the *Eothina* of Leo the Emperor (A.D. 886-911).
This is a valuable MS. and seems to go back to the same original as Paris, Grec, 261, dated 1289.

- 1165, c. 2. 61: *Hirmologus* or *Hirmologium*: 8vo, paper: probably late fourteenth century. Contains the Hirmi or typical verses of Canons for all modes, apparently complete. Text in black, subsidiary signs and variants to music in red.

Besides the Hirmi the MS. contains other portions of music by later hands. The most important is a good copy of the *Papadiké*, not much later than the above, with several exercises (ff. 102 *seqq.*); also a setting of Great Vespers (here the red ink has faded).

Mr. Gaselee's MSS.

1. Paper, 5 × 7 inches. Ff. 48 + 7: end missing. Probably seventeenth century. Cucuzelian system. Contains select hymns for Christmas, Epiphany and Good Friday.
2. Paper 8vo. Complete *Hirmologus* written by Macarius of the monastery of Corone: date 1826. Chrysanthine system. This is an early example, the system having been first published about 1821. There is some autograph music of Chrysanthus at Paris (*Suppl. gr.* 1047); Gastoué gives a facsimile (*op. cit.* Pl. VII.).
3. *Anthologium* in 8vo. Turkish paper: late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. End missing. Contains various hymns by Petrus Lampadius¹ and others. Cucuzelian system.

TRANSCRIPTIONS.

Versions of mediaeval hymns should give an accurate reproduction of the indications in the MSS.; and no arbitrary reconstruction ought to be attempted. Only where the original is doubtful, some guesswork may be needed. This can happen (*a*) if the chain of interval-signs ends on a wrong note; or (*b*) if any sign is illegible. Collation of various manuscripts will often clear up an obscurity; but most of this work still remains to be done.

¹ Also called P. Peloponnesius: ob. 1777.

As already stated, the rhythm in Byzantine music is free. Plain notes are transcribed as quavers; notes lengthened by special signs are given as crotchets. In the Cucuzelian system semi-quavers and dotted notes occur and are also marked by their proper signs. The small separation-mark in our versions answers regularly to the heavy dot dividing phrases in the MS. text. But the bars and marks of emphasis are only put in by us to help the singer; they do not imply a measured tempo. The last note of a piece is always given as a crotchet. The grace-notes are implied by certain combinations of signs in the original. The time should generally be allegro moderato. In the Greek Church the traditional or Modern Greek pronunciation is always used. The ancient quantity of syllables is not respected, but only the accent.¹

The first specimen is one Hirmus of the Canon for the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple. The author, S. Cosmas, was fond of learned and obscure diction, as will be seen in the first sentence. This Hirmus, being that of the eighth ode, is based on the Song of the Three Children in the book of Daniel. The third mode begins either from *c'* or *f*; and in the latter case it needs *b*-flat. The musical text is simple and can be read easily, although the scribe makes the reader turn back in the middle of the ode to an earlier page.

Translation: 'Thrust in the intolerable fire, the young men, champions of godliness, were uninjured by the flame; and they sang a divine hymn: All ye Works (of the Lord), bless ye the Lord: (praise Him) and magnify Him for ever.'

Canon: *χέρσον ἀβυσσότοκον* Ode VIII., Mode III.

Cod. Trin. O. 2. 61, f. 40 *b*.



¹ For performance a Latin translation can be used, but English words do not suit the Byzantine rhythms.

μὴ λω - βῆι - θέν - - τες, . . θεῖ - ον ὕμ - νον ἑ - μελ - πον.
εὐ - λο - γεῖ - τε . . πάν - τα τὰ ἔρ - γα τοῦ κύ - ρι - ον,
καὶ ὑ - περ - υ - ψοῦ - τε αὐ - τὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰ - ῶ - νας.

The fragment of the Round Notation in the University Library is by no means easy to read. In the hymn selected for transcription the first interval-sign has vanished; and this of course makes everything that follows rest upon conjecture. The result, however, is fairly satisfactory; we secure several medial cadences on the proper Finalis (C for Mode IV., plagal) and end up on this note. A start from G, the upper or authentic Finalis, is not uncommon. In the MS. the signature has faded, but the printed Menaeum always gives the mode. The author is Byzantius.

Translation : ‘ Let us Praise those rational victims, Nazarius, Gerbasius, Protasius and Celsius, because they confounded all the madness of tyrants with the idols. Therefore by their prayers, O Christ our God, grant peace to the world and to our souls Thy great mercy.’

Hymn for SS. Nazarius, etc., Oct. 14th. Cod. Cantab. Bibl. Acad.
Add. 1879, 15. Mode IV. plagal.



 τὰ θύ - μα - τα τὰ λο - γι - κὰ, Να - ζά - ρι - ον, Γερ -



 - βά - σι - ον, Προ - τά - σι - ον καὶ Κέλ - σι - ον εὐ - φη -



 - μή - σω - μεν ὃ - τι πᾶ - - σαν τυ - ράν - νων υἱ -

- νί - αν σὺν τοῖς εἰ - δώ - λους κατ - ήρ - γη - σαν, -
 δι - ὀ . . . ταῖς εὐ - χαῖς αὐ - τῶν χρισ - τὲ ὁ θε -
 - ὸς, τήν . . . εἰ - ρή - νην τῷ κόσ - μῳ δώ - ρη - σαι,
 καὶ ταῖς ψυ - χαῖς ἡ - μῶν τὸ μέ - γα ἔ - λε - - ος.

Our third example is of the Cucuzelian System; it shows the subdivision of notes and the florid writing already mentioned. The signature of the third mode (marked III.) occurs at a medial cadence.

Translation: 'Lord! I have cried to Thee, hear me, hear me, Lord! Lord! I have cried to Thee, hear me! Heed the voice of my need. Give heed, O Lord, when I cry to Thee.'

Ps. 141 (beginning) Cod. Cantab. Bibl. Acad. Add. 3051.

Mode II. Finalis *b* or *e*. (Adagio).

κύ - ρι - ε, ἔ - κέ - κρα - ξι πρὸς σέ, εἰς - ά - κου - σόν . . . μου
 εἰς - ά - κου - σόν μου, κύ - ρι - - ε (III) κύ - ρι - ε, . . .
 ἔ - - κέ - κρα - ξα πρὸς σέ, εἰς - ά - κου - σόν . . . μου



πρό - - σχες . . τῇ . . φω - - νῇ τῆς δε -
 - ἡ - σε - ὡς μου ἐν τῷ κε - κρα - γέ - ναι με
 πρὸς σέ, εἰς - - ά - κον - σόμ μου Κύ - ρι - - ε

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THE MACEDONIAN ERA.¹

I.

THE question of the era used in the Roman province of Macedonia is one which has given rise to considerable discussion, but may still be regarded as unsettled. If I attempt briefly to review the principal arguments which have been brought forward and to support a theory which has of late been abandoned by a number of scholars of high authority, my justification must lie partly in the interest of the question itself, partly in the discovery and publication during recent years of some fresh evidence, the value of which appears to me to have been overlooked.

It has long been recognized that two eras were used concurrently in Macedonia. In the *C.I.G.* Boeckh edited an inscription (No. 1970) which bore the double date *ἔτους Ππρ τοῦ καὶ βτ*, and another (2007 *g*) which was of the same character, though that fact was unrecognized. Since the publication of the *C.I.G.* fresh examples have gradually accumulated: Kubitschek² in 1889 collected eight, Kaestner eleven,³ and we have now at least eighteen, as may be seen from the following table.⁴

¹ This paper was read at a meeting of the Oxford Philological Society on February 27th, 1920. My warm thanks are due to Mr. J. G. C. Anderson of Christ Church, who read the article in manuscript and made a number of valuable suggestions.

² *A.-E.M.* xiii. 120, note 1.

³ Kaestner, 51 ff.

⁴ For convenience of reference I use throughout this article the following special abbreviations in addition to those customarily used:—

Baeg. = W. Baegé, *De Macedonum sacris*. Halle, 1913.

Cous. = E. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*. Paris, 1831.

Delac. = Delacoulonche, *Mémoire sur le berceau de la puissance Macédonienne* (*Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, iv., v. Paris, 1858).

Dem. = M. G. Demitsas, *Ἡ Μακεδονία*, i. Athens, 1896.

Duch. = Duchesne et Bayet, *Mémoire sur une Mission au Mont Athos* (*Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, III. série, iii. tome. Paris, 1876).

Heuz. = L. Heuzey et H. Daumet, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris, 1876.

Kaestner = O. Kaestner, *De aetis quae ab imperio Caesaris Octaviani constituto initium duxerint*. Leipzig, 1890.

Le Bas = Ph. Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, vol. ii.

DOUBLE DATING OF MACEDONIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

No.	Date. ¹	Actian Era.	Provincial Era.	A.D.	Published. ²
1	ἔτους γν Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ θξ	53	169	21/2	<i>B.S.A.</i> xxiii. pp. 91 ff.
2	,, Fo ,, ,, ,, βϞρ	76	192	44/5	<i>Rev. Arch.</i> 1869, xx. 62; <i>Duch.</i> p. 206; <i>J.H.S.</i> viii. 360; <i>Dem.</i> 366.
3	,, ζλρ ,, ,, ,, γνσ	137	253	105/6	<i>Delac.</i> 27; <i>Dem.</i> 124.
4	,, Fξρ ,, ,, ,, βπσ	166	282	134/5	<i>B.C.H.</i> iv. 108; <i>Dem.</i> 427. Cf. Kaestner, 51 f.; Baeye, 161.
5	,, F(ξ)ρ βπ(σ)	166	282	134/5	<i>Duch.</i> 55; <i>Dem.</i> 404.
6	,, δπρ Σ(εβαστοῦ) τοῦ καὶ τ	184	300	152/3	<i>Dem.</i> 558; 'Αθηνά, xv. 43.
7	,, επ[ρ] τοῦ ατ	185	301	153/4	<i>B.C.H.</i> viii. 463; <i>Dem.</i> 596.
8	,, Fπρ τοῦ καὶ βτ	186	302	154/5	<i>C.I.G.</i> 1970; <i>Le Bas</i> , 1386; <i>Duch.</i> 37; <i>Dem.</i> 393.
9	,, αϞρ ,, ,, ζτ	191	307	159/60	<i>Berl. phil. Woch.</i> ix. 556; <i>Dem.</i> 449.
10	,, ζϞρ Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ (γντ)	197	313	105/6	<i>Duch.</i> 73; <i>Dem.</i> 430.
11	,, ασ Σεβαστ[οῦ] τοῦ [ζι]τ	201	317	169/70	<i>Duch.</i> 126; <i>Dem.</i> 786.
12	,, βισ Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ ηκτ	212	328	180/1	<i>B.S.A.</i> xviii. 140.
13	,, ιεσ τοῦ καὶ α[λτ]	215	331	183/4	<i>Κωνσταντινούπολις</i> , 1889, No. 267; <i>Dem.</i> 816.
14	[ἔτους] γμσ Σεβαστο[ῦ τ]οῦ καὶ θντ	243	359	211/2	<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> xviii. 415; <i>Dem.</i> p. 392 f.
15	ἔτους Fξσ Σεβαστο[ῦ τοῦ] καὶ βπτ	266	382	234/5	<i>Heuz.</i> p. 234, No. 105; <i>Dem.</i> 210.
16	,, αασ Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ ζπτ	271	387	239/40	'Αρχ. Δελτίον, ii. 145, No. 2.
17	,, ε(π)σ ,, καὶ αυ.	285	401	253/4	<i>C.I.G.</i> 2007 g; <i>Le Bas</i> , 1407; <i>Dem.</i> 748. Cf. <i>Duch.</i> p. 217; Kaestner, 52 f.
18	,, γϞσ Σεβ[αστ]οῦ καὶ θυ	293	409	261/2	'Αρχ. Δελτίον, ii. 147, No. 3.

The full formula is ἔτους α Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ β (Nos. 1-4, 6, 10, 12, 14-16), sometimes shortened to ἔτους α Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ β (11), ἔτους α Σεβαστοῦ καὶ β (17, 18), ἔτους α τοῦ καὶ β (8, 9, 13), ἔτους α τοῦ β (7), or even ἔτους α β (5). Moreover β is always greater than α by exactly³ 116, so that the starting-points of the two eras are separated by 116 years. So far scholars are agreed. But what are these starting-points?

Boeckh, with whom the scientific study of Greek inscriptions began, came to the following conclusion after a study of No. 8: *Haud dubie hoc est verum: maior numerus (302) computatur a Macedonia una cum Graecia in provinciam redacta, a.u.c. 608, quae epocha etiam in Graecis obtinet titulis, minor (186) a principatu Augusti, hoc est ab anno post Actiacam pugnam, a.u.c. 724.* The starting-points were thus held by Boeckh to be 146 and

¹ Some notes on the texts of these date-clauses are relegated to an Appendix at the close of this article.

² I have omitted publications prior to the *C.I.G.*

³ The fact that there is no single exception among the eighteen examples cited appears to me to rule out the hypothesis that the 'Actian' and the 'Provincial' year did not begin simultaneously. Cf. *Heuz.* pp. 235, 276, Kaestner, 51. See, however, the note on No. 17 in the Appendix to this article.

30 B.C. and to be determined by the foundation of the province and by the battle of Actium respectively.

This view of the great master remained unchallenged for more than half a century. Heuzey discussed¹ the subject at some length and concluded that the eras began in October 146 and October 30 B.C., dating probably from the organisation of the province of Macedonia and from the institution of the Actian games.² Duchesne refers³ to this opinion of his predecessor, which he accepts and confirms by the citation of fresh inscriptions discovered (Nos. 5, 10, 11 of the above list) or emended (No. 17) by himself. W. Dittenberger⁴ in 1883, A. Dumont⁵ and J. Marquardt⁶ in 1884, D. G. Hogarth⁷ in 1887, and P. N. Papageorgiou⁸ in 1889, accepted without demur the current view.

It was, however, called in question by J. W. Kubitschek⁹ in 1890, mainly upon the following grounds.

(a) The battle of Actium, widely regarded as inaugurating the sole rule of Augustus,¹⁰ was fought on September 2, 31 B.C., in the Macedonian year which extended from autumn 32 to autumn 31. That year, therefore, should be the first of the new Actian era. In any case the numeration, if it related to the battle of Actium at all, could hardly begin later than the Macedonian year 31/30 B.C.

(b) Again, the evidence for 146 as the date of the organisation of Macedonia as a Roman province is very unsatisfactory. Marquardt appeals only to two inconclusive passages in Florus,¹¹ omitting to notice two statements in Eusebius' Chronicle¹² which attribute the reduction of Macedonia to an earlier date. In fact, we know that the revolt of the pseudo-Philip, Andriscus,¹³ which broke out in 149 B.C., was crushed by the praetor Q. Caecilius Metellus in 148, and it is highly probable that the

¹ Heuz. p. 274 ff.

² *Les jeux Actiaques en particulier avaient très bien pu, à l'imitation des jeux Olympiques, servir de point de départ pour une ère nouvelle . . . C'est donc très probablement aux décrets qui organisèrent dans les deux régions le régime romain, que remonte l'institution d'une ère, concordant sans doute avec celle dont on retrouve la trace dans les inscriptions de la Grèce* (p. 278)

³ Duch. p. 216 f., 286.

⁴ Syll.¹ 247, note 1.

⁵ B.C.H. viii. 464.

⁶ *Staatsverwaltung*, I. 2 318 (*Organisation de l'Empire Romain*, ii. 205, note 8).

⁷ J.H.S. viii. 361.

⁸ *Berl. phil. Woch.* ix. 556.

⁹ A.E.M. xiii. 120 ff. The same conclusion was independently reached by O. Kaestner before the publication of Kubitschek's article. See Kaestner, 43 ff.

¹⁰ Dio Cassius, li. 1, τότε πρῶτον ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ κράτος πᾶν μόνος ἔσχευ, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀπαρίμνησιν τῶν τῆς μοναρχίας αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀκριβοῦσθαι.

¹¹ i. 30, 5; 32, 3.

¹² i. 241 f. ed. Schöne.

¹³ Pauly-Wissowa, i. 2141 ff.; B. Niese, *Geschichte der griech. u. maked. Staaten*, iii. 331 ff.

reduction of Macedonia to provincial status, and in consequence the beginning of the provincial era, immediately followed this success of the Roman arms. Marquardt's claim that 'this year (146) is rendered certain by the era of the province,' comes dangerously near to arguing in a circle, for the starting-point of the provincial era is the very question which requires determination.

(c) A dedication to the Emperor Claudius erected by the city of Thessalonica runs :¹

Ετους Φο' Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ β' Ϟ' .
 Αὐτοκράτορι Τιβερίῳ Κλαυδίῳ
 Καίσαρι Σεβασστῷ Γερμανικῷ,
 ἀρχιερί, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
 5 τὸ τέταρτον, ὑπάτῳ ἀποδεδιγμένῳ
 τὸ τέταρτον, αὐτοκράτορι τὸ ὄγδοον,
 πατρὶ πατρίδος, ἡ πόλις κτλ.

Now the title *δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τέταρτον*, equivalent to the Latin *tribuniciae potestatis IV*, proves that this inscription falls between 25 Jan. 44 and 24 Jan. 45 A.D.² But the heading places it in the year 76 of the Actian and 192 of the anonymous or provincial era. This is impossible if the latter era began in autumn 146 or 147 B.C., whereas if it began in 148, the year 192 would open in autumn 44 A.D., and the dedication quoted would belong to the period Oct. 44–24 Jan. 45 A.D. But the beginning of the Macedonian year can be more precisely determined. An inscription³ of 141½ A.D. gives the equation *a.d. xvii cal. April.* = Xandikos 2 (τῇ πρὸ ιζ' καλανδῶν Ἀπριελίων, Ἑλλη[μιστὶ δ]ὲ Ξανδικοῦ δευτέρᾳ), which proves that the Macedonian month Xandikos began on the Ides of March and makes it highly probable that Dios, the first month of the Macedonian year, began on October 15th.⁴

The view just stated was maintained in 1894 by the same writer in his article *s.v. Aera* in Pauly-Wissowa (i. 636 f., 640), and it has been accepted

¹ No. 2 in the list given above.

² Kubitschek, *A.-E.M.* xiii. 122; Kaestner, 44 ff.; W. Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imp. Rom.* 104. Heuzey, who dates the inscription early in 46 A.D., assumes that τὸ τέταρτον (l. 5) is an error (p. 277): Hogarth also dated it in 46 A.D., but did not discuss the Imperial titles.

³ Le Bas, 1359, Heuz. p. 274, No. 112, Duch. p. 206, *J.H.S.* viii. 363, Dem. 365. Cf. A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftenkunde*, 198.

⁴ But this is called in question by Kaestner, 48.

by a number of eminent scholars such as Niese,¹ Wilhelm,² Gaebler,³ Perdrietz,⁴ Mordtmann,⁵ Papageorgiou,⁶ Oikonomos,⁷ Contoleon,⁸ and Orlandos.⁹ Avezou and Picard, on the other hand, merely state the two theories, without expressing any preference,¹⁰ while Dittenberger, Demitsas, Woodward and Wace retain the older reckoning. There is reason, however, to attribute the conservatism of these scholars rather to ignorance of Kubitschek's articles than to the deliberate rejection of his arguments. Demitsas had certainly overlooked them. Dittenberger reproduced verbatim in the second edition of his *Sylloge*, dated 1898, the note on this subject which had appeared in the first edition fifteen years earlier.¹¹ Woodward and Wace assume 146 as the Macedonian era and do not make any reference to the chronological problem.¹²

But in recent years there has been a conscious return on the part of certain scholars to the older view, due in part to the conclusion reached by Wilhelm,¹³ that the era employed in the province of Achaëa began in 146 B.C. and to the supposed difficulty of believing that two contiguous provinces, for a long period almost amalgamated, can have had separate eras differing only by two years. M. Holleaux, in 1914, expressed a doubt and a desire for further investigation.¹⁴ 'Dans son dernier mémoire,' he writes, 'Ad. Wilhelm distingue encore l' "ère macédonienne" (depuis 148) de l' "ère achaienne" (depuis 146); mais ne se pourrait-il qu'on eût unifié les deux ères et qu'on leur eût donné pour point de départ commun l'année 146? Cette opinion, autrefois soutenue par J. Marquardt (*Staatsverw.* i. 318, 2; cf. 328), mérite un nouvel examen.' Two years later G. Klaffenbach declared¹⁵ that the assumption of a double era was only a means of getting out of a tight corner (*Verlegenheitsauskunft*) and that Holleaux was fully justified in putting forward a plea for 'a uniform era beginning in 146, which is

¹ *Gesch.* iii. 336; *Grundriss roem. Gesch.* 162.

² *Beiträge*, 114, 312.

³ *Z.f.N.* xxiii. 165 f.

⁴ *B.C.H.* xviii. 425 f., 438.

⁵ *Ath. Mitt.* xxi. 99.

⁶ *Ib.* xxxvi. 279, *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxi. 1205, etc.

⁷ *Επιγραφαί τῆς Μακεδονίας*, 17, No. 14.

⁸ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* xiii. 494.

⁹ *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, ii. 145, 147.

¹⁰ *B.C.H.* xxxvii. 116, *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1912, 359.

¹¹ *Syll.*¹ 247, note 1 = *Syll.*² 318, note 1.

¹² *J.H.S.* xxxiii. 346, *B.S.A.* xviii. 143, etc. I cannot refrain from expressing a protest against the common custom of equating Macedonian and Julian years as unscientific and misleading. In *B.S.A.* xviii. 170, for example, we read 'The year 391 = A.D. 245': in reality the year 391 extends (if we adopt the older view, as is done in the example selected) from October 15th, 245 to October 14th, 246. This leads to such errors as that in *J.H.S.* xxxiii. p. 346, where 'A.D. 194' should read 'A.D. 195' upon the assumption there made that the Macedonian era begins in 146 B.C.

¹³ *Jahresh.* x. 20 ff., *Beiträge* 112 ff.

¹⁴ *Hermes*, xlix. 589.

¹⁵ *Hermes*, li. 476.

supported by historical and epigraphical reasons.' In 1917, the famous decree of Lete, near Thessalonica, was republished in the third edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge* and the editor, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, maintains¹ the view adopted by Dittenberger in the first edition, that since the Macedonian era commences in autumn 146 the decree of Lete, dated Panemos 20 in the year 29, was passed in 117 B.C. In his commentary on another inscription in the same volume H. Pomtow, discussing the question somewhat more fully, decides² in favour of the same theory upon the ground that *sententiae, duas aeras tam parvo intervallo inter se distantes, diversas illas in Graecia septentrionali et meridionali, eodem fere tempore (a. 148/6) esse institutas, multum inest offensionis.*

The sole reply which has been made, so far as I am aware, to this new scepticism is contained in a short article by O. Cuntz³ published in January 1918, which answers the misgivings of Holleaux and the attack of Klaffenbach. After stating, without argument, that they do not seem to have invalidated Kubitschek's theory and that there is no difficulty in the acceptance of two eras, the author proceeds to show that the circumstances referred to in the decree of Lete are in perfect accord with the date assigned to the inscription on Kubitschek's hypothesis, July 119 B.C. The case seems to me to call for a somewhat fuller restatement, especially in view of the great weight which is naturally attached to the views of the eminent scholars with whom I find myself at variance.

(1) It must be emphasized at the outset that the date of the dedication to Claudius, which falls in the Macedonian year 192, is fixed beyond question. It cannot be later than 24 Jan. 45 A.D. Heuzey confidently claimed it for the opening days of 46 A.D., but in so doing he not only overlooked the fact that according to his own hypothesis the Macedonian year 192 did not begin until October 46, but he was also forced to assume that Claudius was wrongly described as enjoying his fourth tenure of *tribunica potestas*, and that too, when he was within a few days of completing his fifth! If the Macedonian era begins in 146, the minimum of change required in the dedication would be the replacement of τὸ τέταρτον by τὸ ἕκτον in line 5 and of τὸ ὄγδοον by τὸ ἐνδέκατον or τὸ δωδέκατον in

¹ No. 700, note 1. This is somewhat fuller than the corresponding note in the first and second editions and contains a summary of the suggestion made by Holleaux.

² No. 704, note 44.

³ *Hermes*, liii. 102 ff. The article contains no reference to Dittenb. *Syll.*,³.

line 6, for the sixth year of Claudius' *tribunicia potestas* began on 25 Jan. 46, and his eleventh and twelfth acclamations as *imperator* fell in 45 and late in 46 respectively. Can anyone for a moment maintain that a public dedication set up to a reigning Emperor in a provincial capital could contain errors so serious?

(2) It must further be remembered that the acceptance of 146 B.C. as the starting-point of the provincial era necessarily involves the adoption of the autumn of 30 B.C. as that of the 'Actian' era. But this raises the question what event of the year 30-29 B.C. was of sufficient note to have inaugurated the new era. Heuzey reminds us of 'several facts of importance for the Graeco-Macedonian world, such as the foundation of the great festival of the Actian Games (according to Cassiodorus) and the passage through Greece of the new master of the Roman Empire on his way from Egypt to Rome, where he was to celebrate his triumph (Dio Cassius, li. 21). The Actian Games in especial may very well have served, in imitation of the Olympian Games, as the starting-point for a new era.'¹ But these events are hardly of so epoch-making a character as to explain their being selected for this purpose, and Mommsen frankly admitted that we do not know why an era should start in autumn, 30 B.C.² Moreover, an era dating from the institution of the Actian Games would probably suggest this origin in the formula used, as did the reckoning in Olympiads, whereas we have seen that where a descriptive term is used the date is denoted by ἔτους Σεβαστοῦ. The Actian era, as Mr. Anderson points out to me, seems always based on the actual victory, and this fact is frequently emphasized by the use of phrases such as ἔτους . . . τῆς Καίσαρος νίκης (e.g. at Philadelphia), ἔτους . . . τῆς νίκης or ἔτους . . . νίκης Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀκτιακῆς (Maad in Syria). At Philadelphia the Actian era began 23 Sept. (Augustus' birthday) 31 B.C. (Keil-Premmerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien*, i. p. 29 ff.), but at Amisus it began in 32 B.C., the current year in which the victory took place being reckoned as the year 1 (Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Ancient Minor*, 441: cf. Reinach, *Recueil*, i. p. 44). This practice, usual in the case of Asia Minor eras, appears to have been followed in Macedonia also.

(3) It might be objected that the first year of the new era could not have begun in autumn 32, for at that time it could not be foreseen that before the year had elapsed the decisive struggle between Antonius and

¹ Heuz. p. 278.

² *Staatsrecht*, ii. 2³ 746, note 4.

Octavianus would be fought. This argument, however, carries no weight. A given event—*e.g.* the birth of Christ—may be selected as the starting-point of a new era some time after its occurrence: when we use the phrase A.D. 1 to denote the Roman year in which Christ was (or was thought to have been) born, we do not imply that anyone used this designation in the year in question or indeed for long afterwards. And the very phrase *ἔτους α Σεβαστοῦ* has been held to imply that the creation of the new era falls after 16 January, 27 B.C., when the name Augustus (*Σεβαστός*) was granted to Octavianus by the Senate. Mr. Anderson, however, thinks that the Actian era was probably adopted very soon after the battle which decisively 'freed' all the East, and prefers to regard the use of *Σεβαστοῦ* as suggesting not that the creation of the era fell after the bestowal of the title, but rather that the phrase was varied in or after 27 B.C. from *Καίσαρος* to *Σεβαστοῦ*. In this view I am inclined to concur. But if the year of Actium is the first year of the new series, it is absolutely certain that the provincial era, proved by so many inscriptions to fall 116 years earlier, began in autumn 148 B.C.

(4) The main difficulty, apparently, which some modern scholars feel about accepting Kubitschek's view, is that it involves the existence and employment in Macedonia and Achaea of two different eras, the starting-points of which are separated by an interval of only two years. This is emphasized by Holleaux, Klaffenbach and Pomtow. This difficulty can, however, easily be exaggerated. The Greeks never attributed great importance to uniformity in such matters and clung tenaciously to their traditions of local independence. In the fourth century B.C., to cite but a single illustration, the horizontal stroke (—) represented 10 drachmas at Epidaurus, an obol at Troezen and a half-obol at Hermione, three towns of the Argolid within a comparatively few miles of each other.¹ That there should be different eras in Macedonia and Achaea is not surprising. In Lydia the contemporaneous employment of two eras, the Sullan and the Caesarian, is established beyond question.² Inscriptions of Larisa, Hypata and Melitea prove the use of an era starting in 11 A.D., and Wilhelm has rendered it probable³ that the same era appears in decrees of Lycosura and Methana. For an Epidaurian inscription the same scholar

¹ See *B.S.A.* xviii. 105.

² Cf. Keil-Premmerstein, *Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien*, p. 65.

³ *Beiträge zur griech. Inschriftenkunde*, 152 ff., 311 f.

postulates an era starting 'at the beginning of the first century B.C.'¹ And although it must be admitted that confusion was more likely to arise where two eras began so near to each other as 148 and 146 B.C., yet the use of each was definitely restricted to its own province, so that the fear of any ambiguity was small. After all, these points of departure were dependent not upon capricious selection, but upon historical events. The reduction of Achaëa to provincial status followed historically closely after, but was independent of, the similar action taken by Rome in the case of Macedonia, and if two years separated the one event from the other, it need occasion no surprise if the provincial eras also began two years apart.

(5) Holleaux suggested that, though originally separate, the two eras were soon amalgamated by the adoption of 146 as the starting-point of both. This hypothesis does not seem to me a probable one. It admits tacitly that Macedonia became a province in 148, but maintains that it subsequently adopted a provincial era based on a date, 146 B.C., which had for it no special significance. It supposes that the senior province adopted the era of the junior, whereas the reverse procedure would appear more natural. Moreover, it drives us back on an 'Actian' era beginning in autumn 30 B.C., to the difficulties of which I have already referred. Above all, it ignores the evidence of the dedication to Claudius, certainly based upon 148 B.C.

(6) Finally, this whole discussion appears to me to illustrate the danger attending too conservative an attitude and an excessive reverence for the names and views of the great masters who have dominated the field of scholarship. There are those to whom it may seem presumptuous to call in question what has been maintained by a Boeckh, a Mommsen, a Marquardt, a Dittenberger; in reality, it is a greater tribute to their memory to carry on the work of the investigation of truth to which they devoted themselves, believing, as they believed, in the constant growth of knowledge and the progressive eradication of error, than to allow their work to become fossilized. Thus Pomtow appeals in support of the older view to Dittenberger, Marquardt and Mommsen. But Dittenberger, as I have already pointed out, can hardly have known the articles of Kubitschek or the dissertation of Kaestner, or he would not have reproduced unaltered in 1898 the note first published in 1883 and based in all probability upon the unchallenged testimony of Mommsen and Marquardt. Mommsen,

¹ *Ibid.* 161.

again, seems to have relied upon Marquardt for his evidence: at least in the passage from the *Staatsrecht* already referred to Mommsen appeals only to Marquardt's *Staatsverwaltung*. And Marquardt? As we have seen, his evidence consists of two passages from Florus, inconclusive in themselves and compatible with Kubitschek's view, which has the powerful support of Porphyry, together with the statement, taken over from Heuzey, that the Macedonian era begins in 146 B.C. And Heuzey? His reckoning is based upon an inscription in which, without a particle of evidence, he assumes a serious error, and upon the calculation, arithmetically unsound, that if the Macedonian era began in autumn 146 the opening days of 46 A.D. would fall in the 192nd year of that era. Strange as it may seem, this is the foundation upon which the view of the great historians whom we have cited appears mainly to rest. Heuzey claimed so emphatically¹ to have proved the hypothesis put forward by Boeckh (before the discovery, be it noted, of the crucial evidence, the dedication to Claudius) that the unsoundness of his argument passed unperceived, and its effects continue even down to the present day. If, however, we succeed in shaking off its influence, we shall, I think, feel little hesitation in ranging ourselves on the side of Kubitschek and Kaestner, supported as they are by such masters of historical and epigraphical studies as Niese and Wilhelm.

APPENDIX.

I add the following brief notes on the date-formulae which occur in certain of the inscriptions cited in the table given above (p. 207).

No. 2. The text was originally copied by Vidal-Lablache and published, in capitals only, in the *Rev. Arch.* Later an independent copy was made by D. G. Hogarth and published in the *J.H.S.*, confirming the correctness of the earlier reading. The sole difference is the insertion of C by Vidal-Lablache before and after the first number, obviously punctuation marks unrepresented in Hogarth's copy. Duchesne followed Vidal-Lablache, Cagnat (*L'année épigraphique*, 1889, p. 14, No. 39) and Demitsas give Hogarth's version.

¹ Heuz. p. 279: *Nous avons remplacé par des preuves positives ce qui ne pouvait être encore, de a part de Boeckh, qu'une hypothèse; de plus nous avons déterminé les points de départ avec plus de précision.*

No. 3. Delacoulonche's transcript has $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ΖΛΡ¹ σεβαστοῦ τοῦ Καί. ΓΝC. Demitsas reads $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ζχρ Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ φγν²; he proposes ΖΠΡ for ΖΧΡ but leaves ΦΓΝC' an unsolved problem. Kubitschek and Kaestner correct.

No. 4. This inscription appeared originally in 1879 in the Τελέγραφος Ἀθηνῶν, whence it was repeated in the Παρνασσός. Demitsas, who published a transcript only in the B.C.H. and subsequently in Μακεδονία, wrote $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ΞΖΡ Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ Καρ. ΒΠΣ. The necessary correction was made independently by Kaestner and by Baege.

No. 5. Duchesne, who read $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ΨΣΡ ΒΠΓ, made the needful corrections, adding that *il faut noter la confusion du C avec le Γ dans la seconde des deux dates, et le Σ employé pour le Ζ dans l'autre*. The form of σ used in this inscription is C or Γ, never Σ. In Ἑλλ. φιλ. Σύλλογος, 1889, 13 f. Mordtmann speaks of a copy which gives Γ in place of Γ.

No. 6. Demitsas has gone seriously astray here, reading

ΕΤΟΥCΖΔΠΡC.

which he transcribes $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ Ἰνδικτιῶνος πρώτης! Papageorgiou's copy, made from the stone, shows ΕΤΟΥC↯ΔΠΡC. transcribed ΔΠΡ Σ(εβαστοῦ).

No. 7. A. Dumont, publishing the text from a copy of Dozon and a squeeze, has ΕΤΟΥC·ΕΠ·ΤΟΥΑΤ, which he transcribes $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ επ[ρ] τοῦ [καὶ] ατ. Demitsas follows him. The insertion of [καὶ] disagrees with the copy and seems to me unnecessary.

No. 8. The inscription, first published by Paul Lucas, was reproduced in Muratori. On Boeckh's version rest the subsequent editions of Le Bas, Duchesne and Demitsas.

No. 10. Duchesne read ΓΤΟΥCΖΡCΕΒΑCΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΚΑΙΙΠ, but saw that ΙΠ must be an error, attributed by him to the *ouvrier malhabile*, for ΓΙΤ.

No. 11. Duchesne read CΕΒΑCΤ··ΨΤΟΥ··Τ, but made the needed restoration.

No. 13. Demitsas, drawing on Papageorgiou's publication in the journal Κωνσταντινούπολις (inaccessible to me), gives ΚΑΙΑ··· in the copy and καὶ αλτ in the transcript. Presumably Papageorgiou made the required restoration.

¹ The copy shows ΖΧΡϕ, but the Χ plainly represents a Λ with prolonged strokes.

² ΚΑΙΦΓΝC' in the copy, which transforms into Φ the ivy leaf of Delacoulonche.

No. 14. J. H. Mordtmann, who first published the text, gave

////CΓΛCCΕΒΑΣΤΟ////ΟΥΚΑΙΘΝΤ,

which he transcribed [ἔτου]ς γμς Σεβαστοῦ το[ῦ] καὶ θντ, followed by Demitsas. I have made the obvious correction.

No. 15. Heuzey, followed by Demitsas, read

ΕΤΟΥΣΞCCEΒΑΣΤΟ
ΚΑΙΒΠΤ κτλ.

and transcribed ἔτους ξξσ Σεβαστο[ῦ] καὶ βπτ. This is possible, but I prefer to follow Kubitschek (*A.-E.M.* xiii. 120, n. 1) in writing Σεβαστο[ῦ τοῦ] καὶ βπτ.

No. 17. Originally published in 1831 in the *Ἐφημερὶς Αἰγίνης*, the inscription was reproduced by Boeckh after a copy of Alexander Palaeologus, who read ΕΤϞC ΕϞC CEBACTϞKAIAY and transcribed ἔτους εοσ Σεβαστοῦ Καί(σαρος) Αὐ(τοκράτορος), which Demitsas retains. Duchesne, followed by Kaestner and Kubitschek, emended to ἔτους ε(π)σ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ αυ, and this formula has since been paralleled by No. 18 (see below).

No. 18. A. K. Orlandos, who published the inscription in 1916, transcribed Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ καὶ θεοῦ. But the photograph shows clearly ΘΥ and the contraction is *a priori* highly improbable. Moreover, the formula proposed is without parallel, and the fact that, if we read θυ as a number (409), we obtain a number exactly 116 in excess of that given for the Actian era renders my emendation practically certain. The omission of τοῦ before καὶ is paralleled by No. 17 and possibly also by No. 15.

MARCUS N. TOD.

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School was held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, November 25th, 1919. MR. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, Chairman of the Managing Committee, presided and presented the following Report on their behalf for the Session 1918-1919.

THE Managing Committee have again, and as they sincerely hope for the last time, to report another year's work carried on under abnormal conditions. They wish to record their appreciation of the efforts made by the Director and others to 'carry on' effectively through the arduous opening months of peace. During the last shattering years there has been more done than merely marking time. The School is now well equipped and ready for work in any of the fields already opening.

But the five years during which the Universities have been strained from their natural use to meet the national need will leave a legacy of shortage of students. At the same time, the world-wide rise in cost of every kind hampers the Committee at every turn. During the coming Session the School must use every means in its power to get more men and more money.

Personnel of the School.—The Committee have recently reappointed their Director (Mr. A. J. B. Wace) for a further period of three years, and take this opportunity of offering him the School's best wishes for the uninterrupted work at the normal duties of his office which they know he desires. Though his duties at the Legation have by no means been lightened since the Armistice, Mr. Wace has made time to assist in the formation of the Museum of Decorative Art in the old Mosque near the Library of Hadrian, to read papers to the Anglo-Hellenic League in Athens, to give advice and help in work being carried out for the Metropolitan Museum of New York, Sir Arthur Evans and others, to examine in English for the Greek Ministry, to assist in awarding the Greek national prizes for painting and sculpture, to write contributions to the *Annual*, to carry out much needed repairs and improvements on the School property, and, on a too brief holiday, to rearrange the Greek embroideries in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Committee have accepted with regret the resignation of Miss Jane Harrison, tendered on the ground of increasing pressure of work at Cambridge.

Miss Harrison has long been the representative of the Hellenic Society on the Committee of the School. Professor Bosanquet has been nominated to succeed her, and the Committee have had pleasure in nominating Professor A. Toynbee, Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek History at London University, to take Professor Bosanquet's place. Mr. Penoyre has returned to his duties as Secretary, and Miss Hutton, though continuing for the present to edit the *Annual*, is freed from the other duties generously undertaken for the School during the War. Subscribers will endorse the sincere thanks which the Committee and Director have recently tendered her for these good offices.

Mr. Stanley Casson, an old student of the School, has recently been appointed Assistant Director and Librarian.

Library.—On a separate sheet is issued a list of *libri desiderati* which the Director reports as urgently wanted, both for their immediate utility and also as part of his attempt to maintain the Library in a land of scholars as a worthy epitome of British scholarship.

The completion of the shelving in the Library has unfortunately become imperative at a time when the prices of wood and labour seem to have reached what we hope is their highest point. Something like 10,000 drachmae (£400) is required for this essential extension, and the Committee are faced with the dilemma of either finding the money or leaving the books yet longer without their due protection. The lasting gratitude of Director, Students and Committee would be due to any *εὐεργέτης* who would relieve them of this heavy responsibility. The Library is specially indebted to General Sir George Milne, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army of the Black Sea, for a complete set of maps of great value, to Lieutenant F. B. Welch for administering the Library during the Director's absence, to Mr. R. Hill for the interesting gift of George Finlay's original book-plate, and for gifts of books to the Greek Minister of Education, Professor Myres, the Misses Negroponte, Mr. Pétrocchino, and the Hon. Margaret Wyndham.

Publications.—Once more Miss Hutton has earned our gratitude by editing the current volume of the *Annual*, an interesting feature of which is the letter of Lord Byron generously presented by Mr. Pandelis; particulars of this were given in last year's Report. The second volume of the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* may be expected during the Session, but it is matter for deep regret that the final publications of Palaeokastro and Sparta are so long delayed. In attempting fresh work, the Committee feel increasingly every year the weight of these arrears.

The School Property.—The hostel, which has been exceptionally full with military, diplomatic and other visitors, has been improved throughout in equipment, as has also the Director's house, where, in particular, the original library has become a worthy reception room and dining room. The garden, which has suffered somewhat from a summer rainless even for Greece, otherwise repays the care given to it

by successive Directors and is an asset to the School. It is intended to keep all that has been done in good order rather than to extend the area of cultivation further.

But the most important addition to the amenities of the School is the purchase, conjointly with the American School, of the strip of land above the School on the slope of Mount Lykabettos, for the successful completion of which we owe a debt of sincere gratitude to Mr. B. H. Hill, the American Director, and Mr. Blegen. The danger of building streets in our immediate neighbourhood is definitely obviated, and the School now possesses a dignified site, flanked by public buildings only, in a quiet and appropriate spot in high and healthy surroundings.

Relations with other Bodies.—This Report already bears witness to the ties of good comradeship which bind us to our friends and brothers of the American School. We join with our colleagues at the French School in their regret at the departure of their distinguished Director, M. Fougères, who has been on every occasion—the Director writes—a loyal and sympathetic colleague who has done much to cement the long-standing friendship between the French and British Schools. The good wishes for his work at the Sorbonne, which were expressed at a joint dinner given by the British and American Schools to M. Fougères at his departure, are sincerely endorsed by us in England. The Library of Louvain has recently acknowledged a grant of a complete set of the *Annual* which the School Committee has been proud to send as a contribution to its reconstruction. The cause of Byzantine research will, it is hoped, be quickened and extended by a rearrangement which is now in contemplation between the School and the Committee of the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund.

Future Plans.—Subscribers to the School will readily understand that the political situation in the Nearer East has not cleared sufficiently to make it possible for them to put forward definite schemes of the School's corporate work this Session. Plans, great and small, have been mooted and have their careful attention, and reports are being asked for from the spot. Meantime the Director is in a position to suggest an individual plan of work for a student in practically any department, if the students and studentships are forthcoming. For an architectural student he recommends either of the following: a survey of the library of Hadrian at Athens, or, in the Byzantine period, the publication of churches at Arta and in Thessaly. For a student of history a unique opportunity is offered—the continuation, in his own library, of George Finlay's *History of Greece*. A share might also be taken in the proposed edition of the *Epic of Ali Pasha*. In the sphere of Philology further work on the Albanian dialects is greatly needed. To students in such subjects as geology, metallurgy, agriculture or botany the School

would give, by admitting them as students, hospitality, facilities, and the requisite measure of supervision. The Committee would not however be justified in devoting other than specially subscribed funds to students in this category.

Acknowledgments.—Acknowledgment has been made in the course of this Report to many of our benefactors, but the Committee wish particularly to record the School's indebtedness to Lord Granville, H.M. Minister, for his kind assistance in many different questions. The friendly help and interest of H.M. Minister and H.M. Legation are most highly appreciated by the School.

During the past Session no less than heretofore the School has been deeply indebted to the constant good-will of the Greek authorities: Dr. Kourouniotes, Chief of the Archaeological Department of the Ministry of Education, and Dr. Staes, Director of the National Museum, have, as always, given the School their ready and courteous help. Dr. Keramopoulos, Ephor of Attica and Boeotia and of the Acropolis, has given all facilities for the making of the cast of Parthenon fragments for the British Museum. Mr. Alevizatos, Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Ecclesiastics, has helped to carry through the land purchase scheme to a successful conclusion. The friendly and hospitable support of these and all other Greek authorities is one of the most valued assets of the School.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shows a credit balance of £399 9s. 7d. as compared with a similar balance of £611 18s. 0d. for the preceding year. The total amount of Annual Subscriptions is £573 2s. 0d., or about £13 more than for the preceding year. Owing to the final accounts from Athens having been received too late for incorporation in the Accounts, the Expenditure shown is less than that actually incurred to September 30th last by about £100. The cost of the *Annual* published during the year was £323 9s. 5d., while the proceeds of sales was only £102 18s. 3d. The sum of £1,000 has been paid to the Director for the purchase of additional land near the School in Athens, as described above. The exact cost has not yet been ascertained, but will not fall far short of the sum advanced.

The Committee feel it their duty to point out that during the war their Subscriptions, which had reached a regular total of over £900, have fallen well below £600 per annum, while the expenses of carrying on any sort of work in Greece have enormously increased. They hope that all Subscribers to the School, now that the war is over, will endeavour not only to increase their subscriptions, but to induce others to become Subscribers.

MR. MACMILLAN in the course of his remarks reviewed the history of the School during the past Session and gave particulars of the work of the Anglo-Hellenic Educational Foundation. He moved the adoption of the Report, which was seconded by Mr. WHIBLEY, put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER moved the following resolution, which was seconded by MR. PHILIP NORMAN and carried unanimously :—

“(a) That PROFESSOR ARNOLD TOYNBEE be elected and (b) that MESSRS. DROOP, MYRES and WHIBLEY be re-elected on the Managing Committee; (c) that PROFESSOR BOSANQUET be elected as the Hellenic Society’s representative; (d) that MR. YORKE be re-elected Honorary Treasurer, and MR. JOHN PENOYKE, Secretary.”

MR. EDWIN H. FRESHFIELD then gave a description of the Walls of Constantinople, illustrated by a remarkable series of lantern slides and photographs, receiving the sincere thanks of those present for his interesting exposition.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the publication of the Report the following letter has been addressed to the Director by command of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Committee feel that the Subscribers will wish to read it, and to join with them in congratulating MR. WACE on this official appreciation of the services he has rendered during the war.

154095/W/19.

To A. J. B. WACE, Esq.,
British School, Athens.

FOREIGN OFFICE,
November 27th, 1919.

SIR,

I am directed by Earl Curzon of Kedleston to state that he has been informed by His Majesty’s Minister at Athens that the period of your services in His Majesty’s Legation in accordance with the arrangement made at the beginning of the war with the British School at Athens has now terminated and that you are no longer directly connected with His Majesty’s Legation.

2. Lord Curzon cannot let this occasion pass without expressing to you his appreciation of the invaluable services rendered by you to the country during the war in placing both your unique knowledge of certain aspects of the political and racial problems in the Balkans and your services generally at the disposal of His Majesty’s Minister at Athens. The reports received both from Sir F. Elliot and Lord Granville throughout the period of the war have shown clearly the value attributed by them to your services, and I am to take this opportunity of expressing to you Lord Curzon’s thanks.

3. It is a source of satisfaction to Lord Curzon to know that you will continue to render service to your country in the sphere of scientific research and that as Director of the British School at Athens you will continue to uphold the traditions of that Institution which has advanced the cause of science and upheld the good name of British scholarship on the mainland and among the Greek Islands for so many years.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(*Signed*) GERALD SPICER.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1918-1919.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

3RD OCTOBER, 1918, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1919.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received during the year	573	2	0	House Maintenance (as provided from London to March 31st, 1919)	186	19	10
Subscriptions received for the year 1917-1918	7	7	0	Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London to March 31st, 1919)	160	5	8
Government Grant	500	0	0	Salary—Director	500	0	0
Interest on Investments to July 5th, 1919	210	0	0	Salary—Secretary to June 30th, 1919 .	40	0	0
Interest on Deposit	23	18	3	Publication of Annual (Vol. XXII.) .	323	9	5
Sale of Annuals (Vols. I.-XXI.) .	102	18	3	Rent to September 30th, 1919 . .	10	0	0
Rents from Hostel	238	13	7	Printing, Postage, and Stationery .	28	7	7
				Audit Fee	5	5	0
				Subscription to Joint Archaeological Committee	2	2	0
				Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure	399	9	7
	<u>£1,655</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>£1,655</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>1</u>

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1918, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1919.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Donations as per list	5	10	6	Library	16	4	9
Balance being Excess of Expenditure over Receipts	10	14	3				
	<u>£16</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>		<u>£16</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1918-1919.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The University of Oxford	50	0	0
The Hellenic Society	50	0	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
McGill University	5	5	0
Nettleship Library	1	0	0
St. John's College Library, Cambridge	1	0	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
Victoria University of Manchester	5	0	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0
Emmanuel College, Cambridge	5	0	0
Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
	£275	12	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	275	12	0
Abercromby, Lord	2	2	0
Acland, Henry Dyke	1	1	0
Adcock, F. E.	1	0	0
Allbutt, Prof. Sir T. C.	1	1	0
Anderson, James	1	1	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	1	0	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	1	1	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	1	1	0
Bridgeman, R.	2	0	0
Briggs, Miss M. G.	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Browne, Rt. Rev. Bishop G. F.	1	1	0
Burnet, J.	1	1	0
Burrows, Dr. R. M.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Buxton, A. F.	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Chance, A. F.	1	1	0
Christie, Miss A.	1	1	0

Carried forward £306 16 0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	306	16	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B.	1	0	0
Clausen, A. C.	1	1	0
Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Dawkins, R. M.	1	1	0
Dickins, Mrs. G.	1	1	0
Doll, C. C. T.	2	2	0
Droop, J. P.	1	1	0
Dundas, R. H.	1	0	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Empedocles, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, Sir A. J.	10	0	0
Farquhar, The Lady E.	1	1	0
Farside, Mrs.	1	1	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Foat, F. W. G.	2	2	0
Forster, E. S.	1	0	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Fotheringham, J. K.	1	0	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Frazer, Sir J. G.	1	0	0

Carried forward £352 16 0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1918-1919 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	352	16	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0
Furneau, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. E. A.	1	1	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0
Gerstley, Mrs. J.	1	1	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Griffith, F. Ll.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	1	1	0
Hall, H. R.	1	1	0
Halliday, Miss C. H.	1	1	0
Halliday, W. R.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Hart, P.	1	1	0
Hasluck, P. P.	1	1	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0
Hett, Capt. W. S.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, T. E.	1	1	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hollings, Mrs.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, J. H.	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	3	3	0
Impey, E.	1	1	0
Kenyon, Sir F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Lindley, Miss J.	1	1	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L.	1	0	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
McIver, D. R.	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A.	25	0	0
Macmillan, W. E. F.	1	1	0
Marshall, F. H.	1	1	0
Matthews, Mrs.	1	1	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Miller, W.	1	1	0
Millingen, Mrs. Van	1	1	0
Milne, J. G.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H.	2	2	0
Moloney, W. A.	1	1	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Negreponte, Miss	1	1	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. S. . . .	1	1	0
Ogden, Mrs. P.	2	2	0

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David G. Hogarth. M.A., D.Litt., C.M.G.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven Fellow. Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Director of the School 1897—1900. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
*Rupert C. Clarke. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks, and Rural Dean of Wendover. Admitted 1886—87.
F. H. H. Guillemard. M.A., M.D., F.L.S., etc.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Montague R. James. Litt.D.	Provost of Eton. Late Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University, Cambridge.
R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture and Construction, University College, London. Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.
R. W. Schultz Weir (R. Weir Schultz).	Admitted as Gold Medallist and Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90.
Sidney H. Barnsley.	Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91.
J. A. R. Munro. M.A.	Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Craven University Fellow. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
Sir J. G. Frazer. LL.D., D.C.L.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
†William Loring. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Warden of Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Secretary of the School, 1897—1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93.

¹ For the war-service, military and otherwise, rendered by Students of the School, see p. viii.

* Deceased.

† Died of wounds, October 22nd, 1915.

- W. J. Woodhouse. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889-90. Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891-92 and 1892-93. Honorary Student of the School.
- G. C. Richards. M.A. Late Fellow of Hertford College. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889-90. Re-admitted 1890-91.
- O. H. Parry. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of All Hallows, East India Dock. Formerly Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889-90.
- J. F. R. Stainer. M.A., B.C.L. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889-90.
- *R. A. H. Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889-90.
- A. G. Bather. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889-90. Re-admitted 1891-92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1892-93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893-94, as Cambridge Student.
- E. E. Sikes. M.A. Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890-91.
- J. G. Milne. M.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890-91.
- H. Stuart Jones. M.A. Fellow and formerly Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890-91. Re-admitted 1892-93.
- Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong). Life Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. Formerly Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890-91.
- F. Brayne Baker. M.A. Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891-92.
- C. C. Inge. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of St. Giles', Oxford. Appointed 1891-92 to the Oxford Studentship.
- E. F. Benson, B.A. King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891-92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892-93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893-94 as Craven Student; and 1894-95 as Prendergast Student.
- J. G. Piddington. B.A. (J. G. Smith) Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891-92. Re-admitted 1895-96.
- V. W. Yorke. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892-93. Re-admitted 1893-94.
- J. L. Myres. M.A. Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Student and Tutor of Christ Church. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Gladstone Professor of Greek in the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1892-93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893-94 and 1894-95. Hon. Student of the School.

- R. J. G. Mayor. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.
- R. C. Bosanquet. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director 1900—1906. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1895—96 and 1896—97.
- Sir J. M. Cheetham. K.C.M.G., M.A. Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
- E. R. Bevan. M.A. New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
- A. F. Findlay. M.A. Sent out as holder of Brown-Downie Fellowship by the United Presbyterian Church, Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. Admitted 1894—95.
- J. G. Duncan. M.A., B.D. Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Minister of Kirkmichael, Ballindalloch, N.B. Admitted 1894—95.
- J. E. Brooks. M.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
- *H. Awdry. M.A. New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
- Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna) Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—6. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
- Archibald Paterson. University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
- C. R. Rowland Clark. Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
- C. C. Edgar. B.A. Oriol College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
- F. R. Earp. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
- *F. A. C. Morrison. M.A. Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
- H. H. West. M.A. Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
- Miss C. A. Hutton. Girton College, Cambridge. Hon. Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Admitted 1896—97.
- J. G. C. Anderson. M.A. Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and sometime Senior Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
- J. W. Crowfoot. M.A. Brasenose College, Oxford. Director of Education, Sudan Government. Formerly Inspector in the Ministry of Education, Cairo. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
- W. W. Reid. B.D. Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Minister of the Church of Scotland, Dumbarton, N.B. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.
- A. E. Henderson. F.S.A. Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—02, and 1902—03.
- W. A. Curtis. D.Litt., D.D. (Edin.) Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh. Formerly Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen. Admitted 1897—98.

* Deceased.

- A. J. Spilsbury. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Head Master of Wakefield Grammar School. Formerly Senior Classical Master, City of London School. Admitted 1897-98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
- E. B. Hoare. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897-98, as Architectural Student.
- J. C. Lawson. M.A. Fellow, Tutor and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898-99. Re-admitted 1899-1900.
- C. D. Edmonds. M.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Berkhamstead School. Formerly at Aldenham School and at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898-99.
- Sir John H. Marshall, Kt. Scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898-99. C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student, 1900-01, Craven Student, 1901-2.
- *Clement Gutch. M.A. King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898-99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.
- F. B. Welch. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Vice-Consul, Athens. Formerly Head Master of Wadham House Prep. School, Hale, Cheshire. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898-99. Re-admitted 1899-1900.
- T. D. Atkinson. Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Ely, to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, and to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College. Admitted as Architectural Student, F.R.I.B.A. 1898-99.
- J. K. Fotheringham. Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Formerly Fellow of M.A., D.Litt. Magdalen College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Assistant in the University Observatory, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898-99.
- J. H. Hopkinson. M.A. University College, Oxford. Vicar of Holy Trinity, Colne, Lancs. Formerly Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899-1900 and 1900-01.
- S. C. Kaines-Smith. Magdalene College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899-1900, on appointment to Cambridge Studentship.
- Miss O. C. Köhler. Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899-1900. (Mrs. Charles Smith).
- D. Theodore Fyfe. Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted F.R.I.B.A. 1899-1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
- † K. T. Frost. Brasenose College, Oxford. Lecturer at the Queen's University, Belfast. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900-01. M.A., F.R.G.S.
- R. D. Wells. Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900-01. M.A., F.R.I.B.A.
- John Penoyre. M.A., C.B.E. Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British School at Athens. Admitted 1900-01. Re-admitted 1906-7, 1907-8.

* Deceased.

† Killed in action, September 4th, 1914.

- Marcus N. Tod. M.A.,
O.B.E. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—1904. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901—02.
- *F. W. Hasluck. M.A. Sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School from 1906—1915. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship 1901—02. Re-admitted 1902—03, 1904—05, 1905—06. Honorary Student of the School.
- C. Heaton Comyn.
F.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1903—04.
- Miss H. L. Lorimer. Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1910—11.
- Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn. Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—02.
- A. P. Oppé. B.A. New College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Sometime Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrews University, Lecturer in Ancient History at Edinburgh University, Deputy Director and Secretary Victoria and Albert Museum. Admitted 1901—02.
- W. L. H. Duckworth.
M.D., Sc.D., M.A. Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—03.
- C. T. Currelly. M.A.,
F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C. Victoria College, Toronto. Director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology. Formerly Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903—04.
- R. McG. Dawkins. M.A. Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Bywater Professor of Modern Greek in the University of Oxford. Director of the School from 1906—14. School Student. Admitted as Craven Student, 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903—04, 1904—05, 1905—06.
- E. S. Forster. M.A.,
F.S.A., M.B.E. Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Lecturer in Greek in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903—04, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
- A. J. B. Wace. M.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge. Director of the School. Formerly Fellow of Pembroke College. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology at University of St. Andrews. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903—04, 1904—05, 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09, 1909—10, 1910—11, 1911—12. Honorary Student of the School.
- †E. W. Webster. M.A. Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy. 1904. Admitted 1902—03.
- J. B. Fulton. A.R.I.B.A. Soane Student. Admitted 1902—03.
- E. F. Reynolds. Admitted 1902—03.

* Deceased.

† Killed in action, April 9th, 1917.

- M. Cary, M.A.
(M. O. B. Caspari). Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Read e
Ancient History in the University of London. University
Scholar in German. Admitted 1903-04.
- J. L. Stokes. B.A. Formerly Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge.
Librarian of Charterhouse School since 1905. Admitted
(as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke
College), 1903-04.
- Miss M. K. Welsh
(Mrs. A. M. Daniel). Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Ken-
nedy Studentship. Admitted 1903-04.
- †G. Dickins. M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven University
Fellow. Admitted 1904-05, 1905-06. Re-admitted as
School Student, 1906-07. Re-admitted 1907-08, 1908-09,
1912-13.
- C. C. T. Doll. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Superintending Architect at the
excavations at Knossos since 1905. Admitted 1904-05.
- C. H. Hawes. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Anthropology,
Dartmouth College, U.S.A. Admitted 1904-05, 1908-09.
- W. A. Kirkwood.
M.A. (Harvard),
Ph.D. (Harvard). University College, Toronto. Registrar of Trinity College,
Toronto. Admitted 1904-05.
- H. J. W. Tillyard.
D.Litt. (Edinburgh),
M.A. Caius College, Cambridge. Professor of Classics, University
College, Johannesburg, South Africa. Late Lecturer in
Greek, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1904-05 as
Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905-06 (on appoint-
ment to Studentship), 1906-07, 1908-09. Re-admitted
1912-13.
- Miss G. M. A. Richter.
Litt.D. Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Curator in Department
of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New
York. Admitted 1904-05.
- J. P. Droop. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Late Assistant to Dr. Stein in the
arrangement of his collections. Admitted 1905-06,
1906-07 (Prendergast Student), 1907-08 (School Student),
1908-09, 1910-11, 1912-13, 1913-14.
- Miss M. Hamilton. M.A.
D.Litt. (Mrs. G. Dickins). University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Fellowship
under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905-06, 1906-07.
- A. C. B. Brown. M.A. Scholar of New College, Oxford. Fereday Fellow of St.
John's College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in
Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at
Marlborough College. Admitted 1905-06.
- F. Orr. Admitted 1905-06.
- R. Traquair. A.R.I.B.A. Admitted 1905-06 (on appointment to an Architectural
Studentship). Professor of Architecture, McGill University,
Montreal. Re-admitted 1906-07. Student of the Byzan-
tine Fund.
- Miss E. B. Abrahams.
M.A. (Mrs. Culley). Bedford College, London. Admitted 1905-06.
- W. J. Farrell. M.A. Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1906-07,
1907-08, 1908-09, 1909-10.
- Walter S. George. Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal College
of Art. Soane Medallist of Royal Institute of British
Architects. Admitted 1906-07. Re-admitted 1908-9
1909-10, as Student of the Byzantine Research Fund.
Re-admitted 1912-13.

† Died of wounds, July 17th, 1916.

- T. E. Peet. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Officer of Egypt Explor. Society and Lecturer in Egyptology in the University of Manchester. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1906—07, and as Pelham Student in the British School at Rome 1908—09.
- A. M. Woodward. M.A. Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Assistant Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Leeds. Assistant Director, 1909—10. Admitted 1906—7, 1907—08, 1908—09.
- W. M. Calder. B.A. Christ Church, Oxford. Professor of Greek in Victoria University, Manchester. Formerly Wilson Travelling Fellow, Aberdeen University. Research Student, Brasenose College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
- W. Harvey. Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1907—08.
- H. Pirie-Gordon. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
M.A., D.S.C.
- M. S. Thompson. M.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham Scholarship. Craven Fellow, School Student. Admitted 1907—08, 1908—09, 1909—10, 1910—11, 1911—12.
- A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907—08.
- N. Whatley. M.A. Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
- † G. L. Cheesman. M.A. Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1908—09.
- A. W. Gomme. B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Greek, University of Glasgow. Previously Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Liverpool University. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1908—09.
- L. B. Budden. Travelling Student in Architecture of the University of
M.A., A.R.I.B.A. Liverpool. Admitted 1909—10.
- S. W. Grose. M.A. Christ's College, Cambridge. Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. From 1914, Cataloguing McClean Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum. School Student. Admitted 1909—10.
- H. A. Ormerod. Queen's College, Oxford. Lecturer in Greek, University of
M.A., M.C. Liverpool. Admitted 1909—10, 1910—11.
- H. H. Jewell. Royal Academy Gold Medallist. Admitted 1909—10.
- W. R. Halliday. B.A., B.Litt. New College, Oxford. Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in the University of Liverpool. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1910—11. Re-admitted 1912—13.
- Miss D. Lamb. O.B.E. Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11; 1913—14.
(Mrs. J. R. Brooke.)
- Miss L. E. Tennant. (Mrs. Admitted 1910—11.
F. J. Watson Taylor.)
- E. S. G. Robinson. B.A. Christ Church, Oxford. Assistant in the Coin and Medal Dept., British Museum. School Student. Admitted 1910—11.
- L. B. Tillard. B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11.
- A. J. Toynbee. B.A. Sometime Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Koræes Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language, Literature and History at King's College, University of London. Admitted 1911—12.

† Killed in action, August 10th, 1915.

- R. S. Darbishire. B.A. Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1911-12.
- Miss M. M. Hardie. M.A. Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted as School Student (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck.) 1911-12.
- E. M. W. Tillyard. M.A., O.B.E. Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1911-12.
- M. L. W. Laistner. B.A. Jesus College, Cambridge. Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Victoria University, Manchester. Late Lecturer in Archaeology and Ancient History, Queen's University, Belfast. Craven Student. Admitted 1912-13. Re-admitted 1913-14 as School Student.
- S. Casson. M.A. Lincoln College, Oxford, and Senior Scholar of St. John's College. Fellow of New College. Assistant Director of the School, 1919-20. School Student. Admitted 1912-13. Re-admitted 1913-14.
- R. S. Lambert. Repton School.
- Gordon Leith. Holder of Herbert Baker Studentship. Admitted 1912-13.
- C. A. Scutt. B.A. Clare College, Cambridge. Professor of Greek in the University of Melbourne, Victoria. Prendergast Student of the University of Cambridge. Admitted 1912-13. Re-admitted 1913-14.
- † R. M. Heath. B.A. Oriel College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1913-14.
- J. Boxwell. B.A. Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. Travelling Scholar or Union of South Africa. Admitted 1913-14.
- Miss M. N. L. Taylor. (Mrs. H. C. Bradford.) Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1913-14.
- J. Arnott Hamilton. M.A. University of Edinburgh. Holder of the Blackie Scholarship. Admitted 1913-14.
- Miss E. Radford. Admitted 1913-14.
- Miss Agnes Conway. M.B.E. Admitted 1913-14.
- Rev. W. A. Wigram. D.D. Admitted 1913-14.
- † C. B. Moss-Blundell, B.A. New College, Oxford. School Student elect 1914-15.
- H. Collingham. B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge. Craven Student. Admitted 1919-20.
- M. Tierney. B.A. University of Ireland. Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University College, Dublin. Admitted 1919-20.
- A. W. Lawrence. B.A. New College, Oxford. Admitted with grant from the Craven Fund, 1919-20.

† Killed in action, September 16th, 1916.

† Killed in action, September 26th, 1915.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	"	1896
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	"	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	"	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	"	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	"	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	"	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	"	1903.
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	"	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	"	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	"	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq.	"	1906.
A. E. Zimmern, Esq.	"	1910
Miss Negroponte.	"	1912.
C. J. Ellingham, Esq.	"	1913.
Capt. H. M. Greaves, R.A.	"	1913.
Shirley Atchley, Esq.	"	1920.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period ; (ii) the study of inscriptions ; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites ; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School :—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following :—

(1) The Trustees of the School.

(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.

(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.

(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following:—

- (1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University or the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.
- (2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.
- (3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library or the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to assist in editing the School Annual.

XXIX. (a) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (b) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c. which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of twelve shillings and sixpence a week for the smaller, and fifteen shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, members of the Committee, and ex-directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be from twenty-five to thirty shillings a week, or from five to six drachmai a night until further notice.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall administer it jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1920.

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

CONTRIBUTORS to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* are requested to use the following systems of transliteration when writing in English such Greek words as have not become part of the English language :—

ANCIENT GREEK.

Vowels.

$a = a:$ }
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \epsilon = e: \\ \eta \end{array} \right\}$ krater, lekane.

$i = i:$ kalpis.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} o \\ \omega \end{array} \right\} = o:$ kothon, kantharos, Amyklaion.

$u = y$ after a consonant, as aryballos, kylix; u after another vowel as boule.

$ae = ai:$ Aigion, Erythrai, except at the end of words, such as Mycenae, which are commonly Latinised in form, when ae may be used.

$ei = ei:$ Meidias.

$oi = oi:$ Chalkioikos.

$ui = ui:$ muia.

$au = au:$ Aulis.

$eu = eu:$ Eutychos.

$ou = ou:$ boule.

Consonants.

$\beta = b$; $\gamma = g$; $\delta = d$; $\zeta = z$; $\theta = th$; $\kappa = k^1$; $\lambda = l$; $\mu = m$; $\nu = n$; $\xi = x$;
 $\pi = p$; $\rho = r$; $\sigma, s = s$; $\tau = t$; $\phi = ph$; $\chi = ch$; $\psi = ps$; $\gamma\gamma = ng$; $\gamma\kappa = nk$;
 $\gamma\chi = nch$; $\rho = rh$.

¹ κ never = c except for place-names like Corinth, Mycenae, or some names of persons like Cleon, which have become English words.

Accents.

Contributors are requested to indicate accents and breathings very clearly and accurately.

MODERN GREEK.¹*Vowels.*

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} a = \alpha : \\ \epsilon = \epsilon : \\ \eta = \varepsilon : \\ \iota = i : \end{array} \right\} \text{Πέντε Πηγάδια} = \text{Pénte Pegádia}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \circ \\ \omega = o : \end{array} \right\} \text{Γεώργιος} = \text{Geórgios.}$$

$\upsilon = \gamma$: Μυλάοι = Myláoi. But for *av*, *ev*, *ou* see below.

$\alpha\iota = \alpha i$: Καισαριανή = Kaisariané.

$\epsilon\iota = \epsilon i$: Ἀγία Εἰρήνη = Hagía Eiréne.

$\omicron\iota = \omicron i$: Μύλοι = Mýloi.

$\upsilon\iota = \gamma i$: ψυχουῖός = psychoyiós.

$\omicron\upsilon = \omicron u$: Σκριποῦ = Skripoú.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} av \\ ev \end{array} \right\} = af$ and ef before unvoiced consonants (θ , κ (ξ , ψ), π , s , τ , ϕ , χ) and av , ev before vowels and voiced consonants: Εὐθύμιος = Eftthýmios; Λάυρα = Lávra.

Consonants.

$\beta = v$; $\gamma = g$, but $\gamma\gamma$, $\gamma\kappa$ and $\gamma\chi$ as *ng*, *nk* and *nch*; $\delta = d$; $\zeta = z$; $\theta = th$; $\kappa = k$; $\lambda = l$; $\mu = m$; $\nu = n$; $\xi = x$; $\pi = p$; $\rho = r$; $\rho\rho = rrh$; $\acute{\rho} = rh$; $\sigma, s = s$; $\tau = t$; $\phi, \chi, \psi = ph, ch, ps$.

The rough breathing to be written *h*: Ἅγιος Γεώργιος = H. Geórgios.

Accents.

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated.

In any case where the Greek form of the word is felt to be obscured it may be added in Greek letters (in brackets) the first time a word occurs, and conversely the exact pronunciation, if it should be of importance for any reason, may be specially indicated.

¹ The arguments in support of this system will be found in Mr. R. M. Dawkins' paper on 'The Transliteration of Modern Greek' in *B.S.A.* vol. xv.

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

For the conventions respecting the indication of quotations from ancient and modern authorities, titles of periodical and collective publications, transliteration of inscriptions, and quotations from MSS. and literary texts, contributors are referred to the accompanying notes drawn up by the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and kindly placed by them at the disposal of contributors to the *Annual*.

[REPRINTED FROM *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXIX., PART II., 1909, PP. LXXXVII-IX.]

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protopogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

A.-E.M. = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.

Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Istituto.

Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).

Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.

Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.

Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.

R.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

- Berl. Vas.* = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M. Coins = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Rings = British Museum Catalogue of Finger-Rings.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Jewellery = British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery.
B.M. Sculpt. = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases. = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R. = Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Istituto.
 Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pétr. = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
 Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
 Dittenb. *O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
 Dittenb. *Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. = 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften (or Collitz-Bechtel).
 Gerh. *A.V.* = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingensche Gelehrte Anzeigen.
 Head, *H.N.*² = Head, Historia Numorum. Revised Edition, 1910.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
 Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Liverpool Annals = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of University of Liverpool.
 Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Istituto.
 Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles. = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

- | | | |
|-------------|------|---|
| <i>I.G.</i> | I. | = Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores. |
| " | II. | = " " aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora. |
| " | III. | = " " aetatis Romanae. |
| " | IV. | = " Argolidis. |
| " | VII. | = " Megaridis et Boeotiae. |
| " | IX. | = " Graeciae Septentrionalis. |
| " | XII. | = " Insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum. |
| " | XIV. | = " Italiae et Siciliae. |

Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.

Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.

Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.

Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.

Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.

Reinach, *Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Röm. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

S.M.C. = Sparta Museum Catalogue.

T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z.f.N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

() Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol ; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver ; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver ; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form ; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears on the original, should be represented by a special sign [†].

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions*.

() Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing in the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

British School at Athens.

THIS School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archaeology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is now an archaeological centre of the first rank. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums of treasures of Antiquity found in Greek soil during the last few decades of years has made a personal knowledge of those museums in the highest degree desirable for Hellenic scholars.

The student requires two auxiliaries when working in Athens. First, the command of an adequate library; and second, the advice of trained archaeologists residing on the spot, who follow the rapid advance of the science due to new discovery and the rearrangement of old materials.

These advantages are now provided for American, Austrian, British, French, German and Italian archaeologists. By means of these Schools many excavations on Greek soil have been carried out; and those conducted in Cyprus, in the Peloponnese, in Melos, in Crete, and, finally, in Sparta and Northern Greece by the British School during the past thirty Sessions are an encouraging proof of the work that may be done in the future if the School be adequately supported. The *Annual of the British School at Athens*, an archaeological periodical of recognised high standing, affords an opportunity for the publication of the Students' more important results.

Students are admitted free of charge. They are required to pursue some definite course of Hellenic study or research, residing for the purpose not less than three months in Greek lands,¹ and at the end of the Session to write a report of the work they have done. Applications from intending students should be made to the Secretary, JOHN PENOVRE, Esq., 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1, who will also give full information.

Donations or annual subscriptions to the School are much needed, and will be gladly received. They should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, V. W. YORKE, Esq., M.A., Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C. 4.

¹ In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence at the School at Athens.

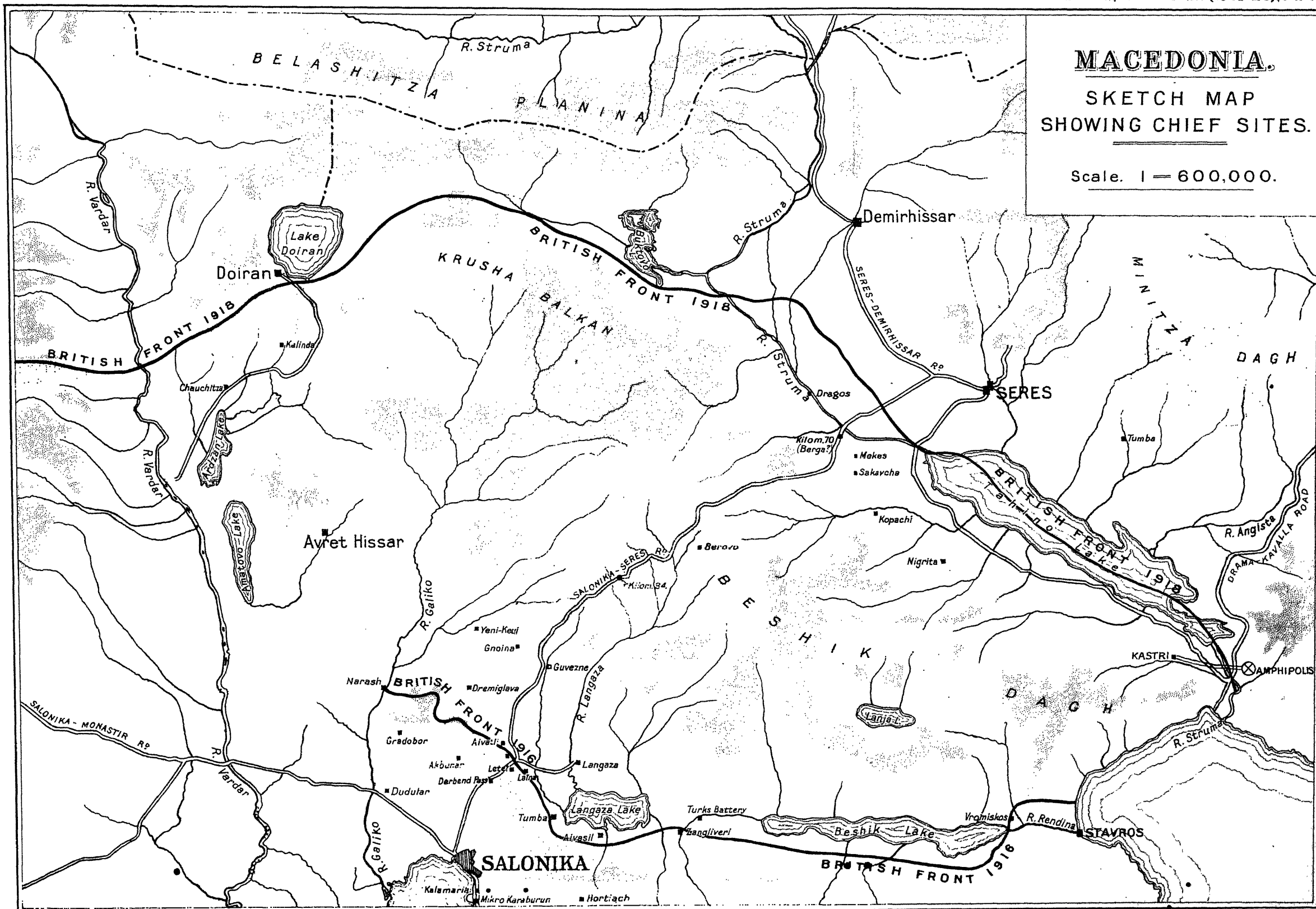
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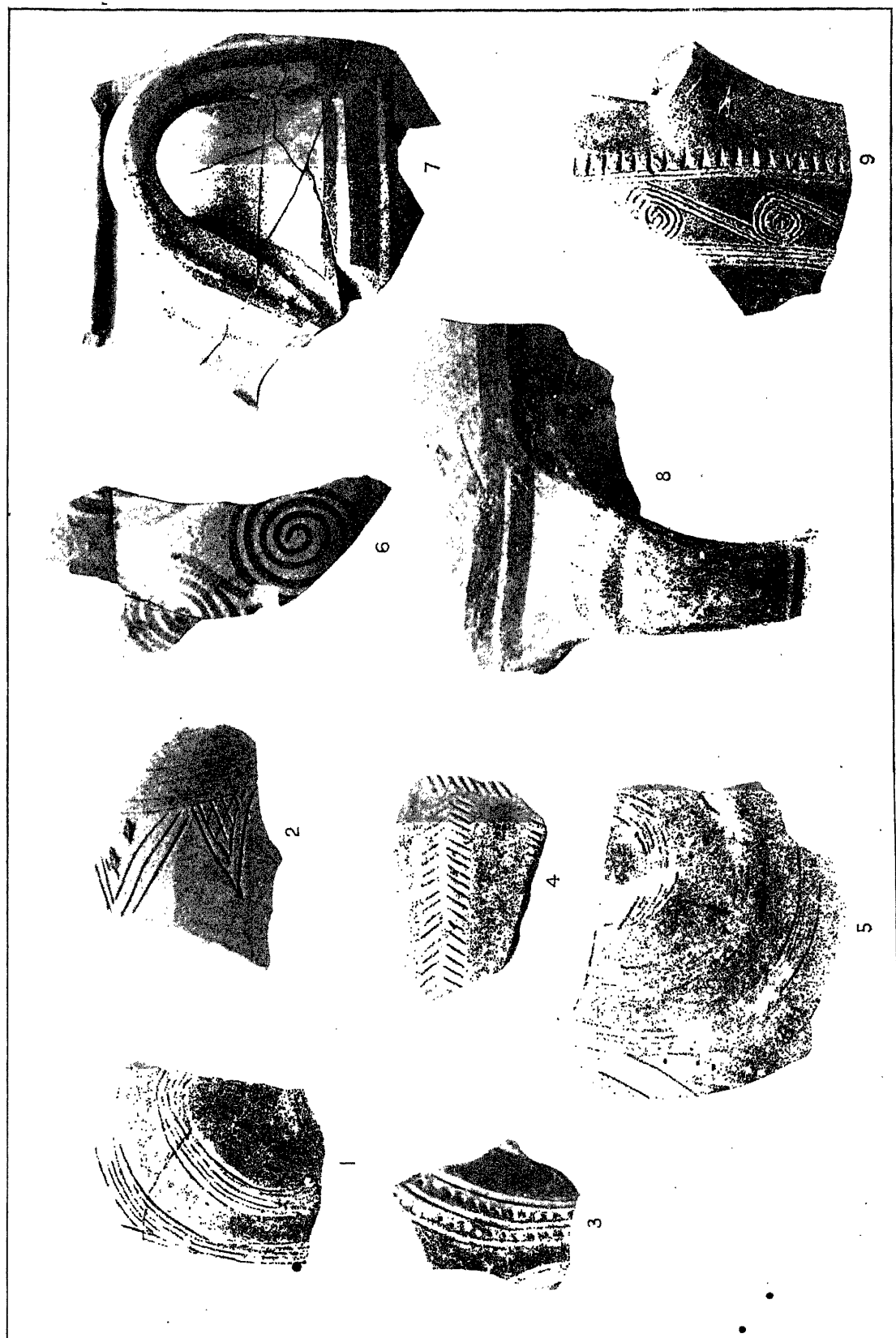
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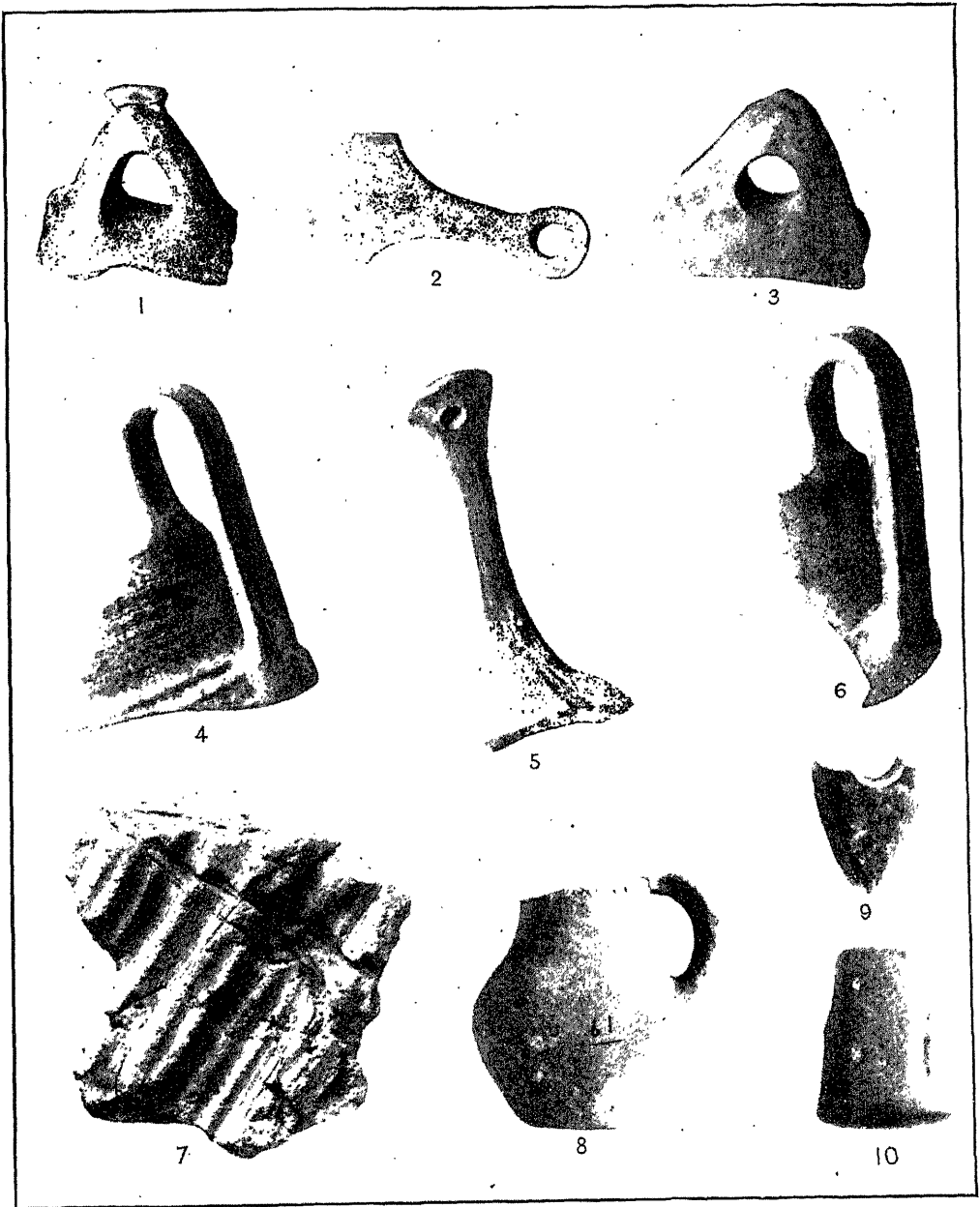
MACEDONIA.

SKETCH MAP SHOWING CHIEF SITES.

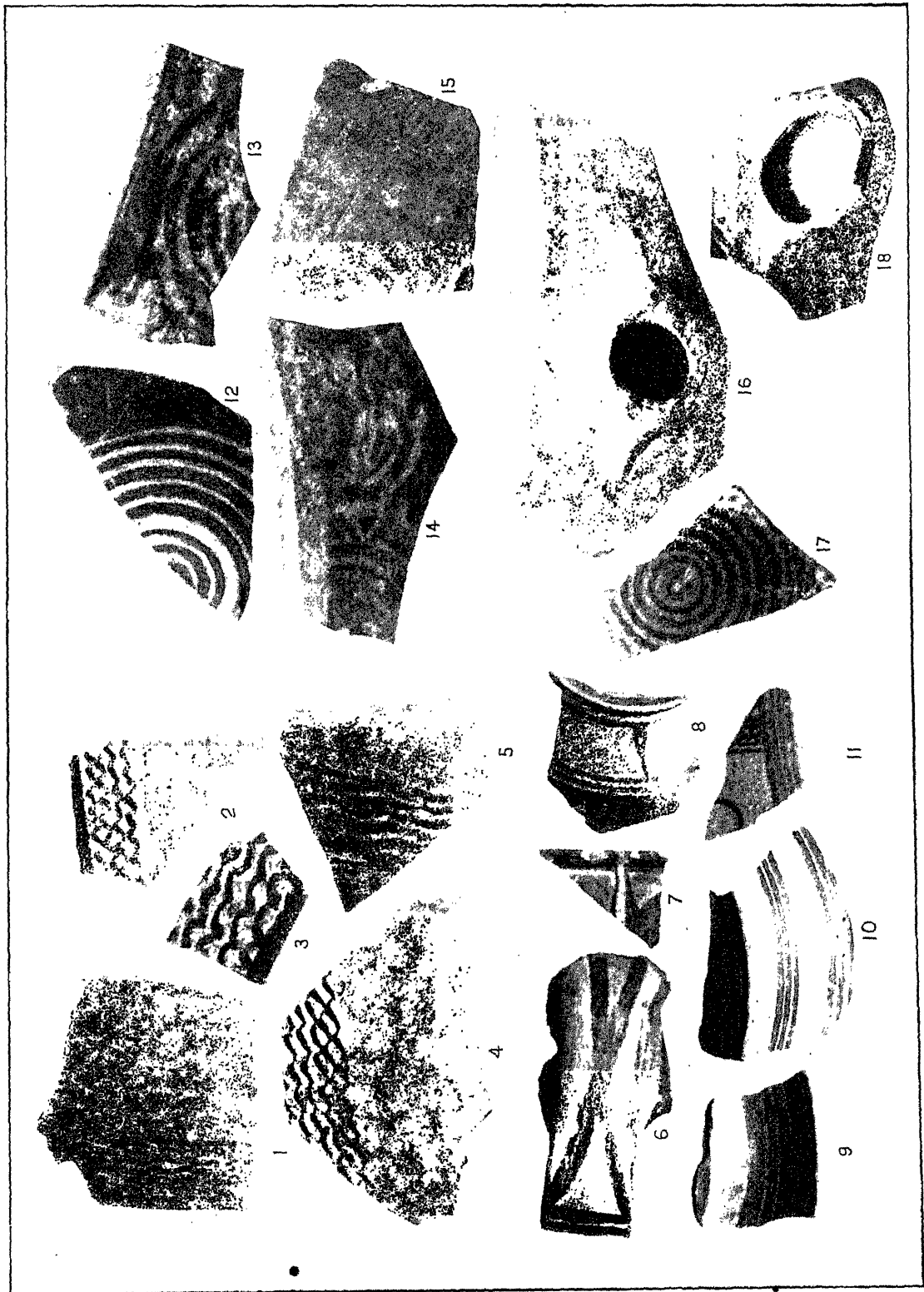
Scale. 1 = 600,000.



MACEDONIA: POTTERY. NOS. 1-5, 9, INCISED NEOLITHIC WARE. NOS. 6-8, LOCAL SUB-MYCENAEAN WARE FROM AKBUNAR. (Scale 2:3.)



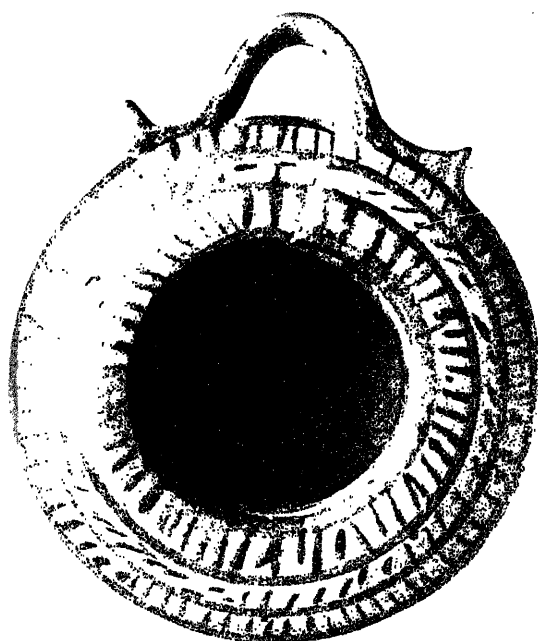
MACEDONIA: 1-6, S. TYPES OF PREHISTORIC VASE HANDLES. 7. CLAY WALLING.
9, 10. STONE IMPLEMENTS. (Scale 1 : 2.)



MACEDONIA: POTTERY. 1-5. PRE-MYCENAEAN PAINTED WARE FROM AIVATLI. 6-11. PRE-MYCENAEAN PAINTED WARE. 12-18. LOCUS I WARE. 19-21. 1

I

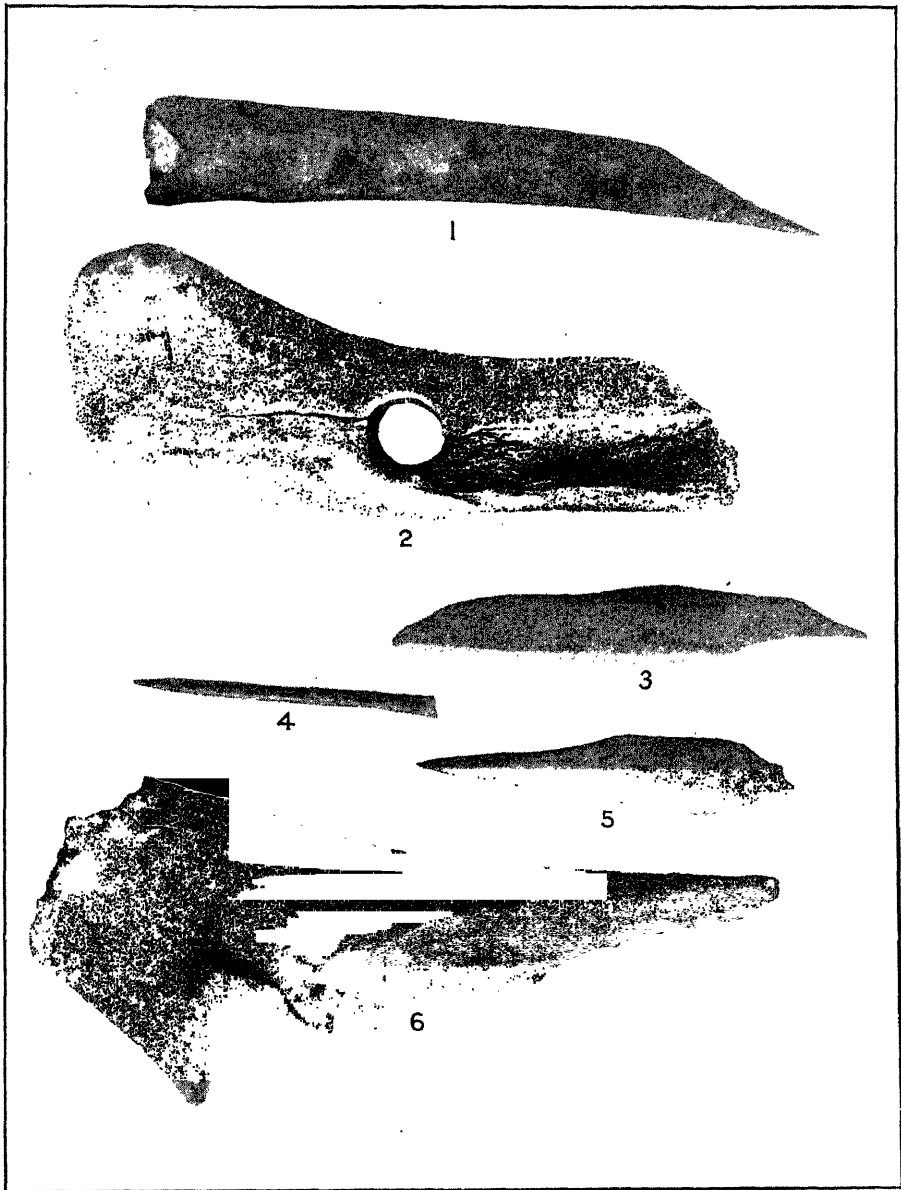
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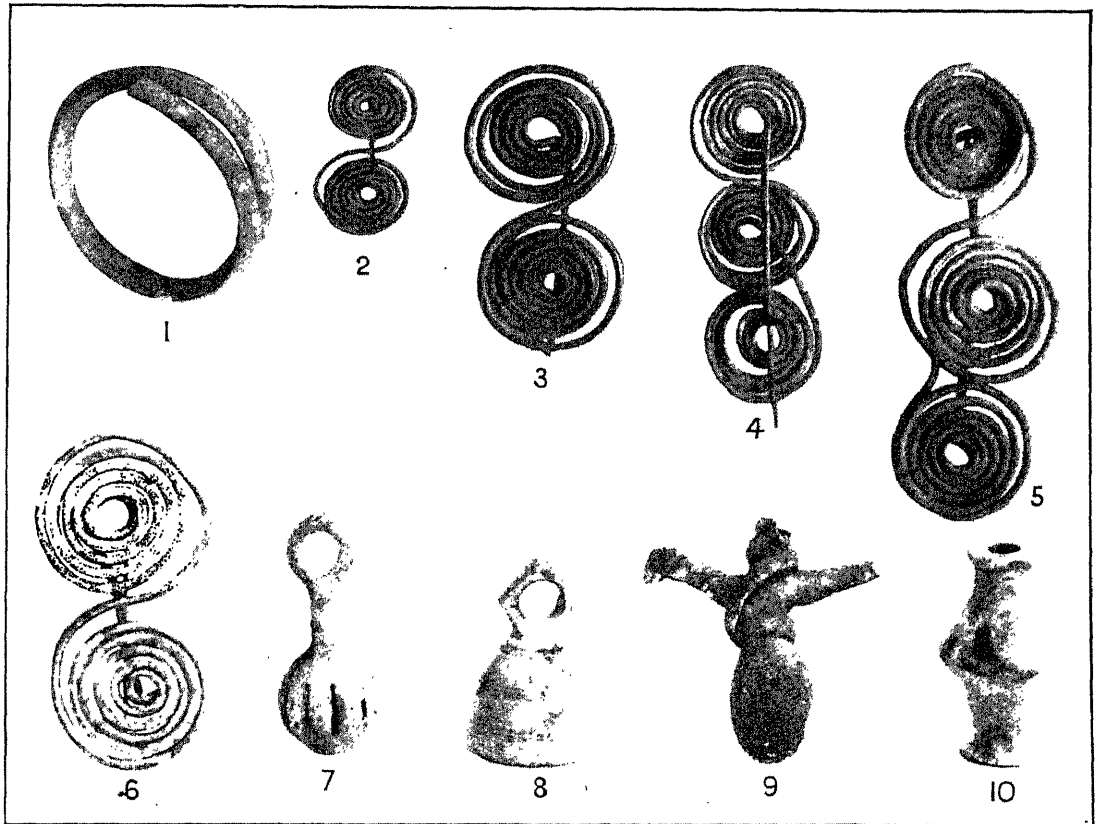
MACEDONIA: 1. IRON AGE CUP FROM CHAUCHITZA. 2. KOTHON FROM AIVASIL. 3. NEOLITHIC VASE WITH INCISED SPIRALS. 4. CORINTHIAN PYXIS. (Scale 1:2.)



MACEDONIA: BONE NEEDLES, AWLS, AND POLISHERS. (Scale 1 : 2.)



A



B

MACEDONIA: BRONZE ORNAMENTS FROM CHAUCHITZA. A. SHIELD BOSSES (CLASSICAL PERIOD). B. 1. 2-6. BRACELET AND BROOCHES (BRONZE AGE). S. BELL. 7. 9. ORNAMENTS. 10. BEAD (CLASSICAL PERIOD).

I

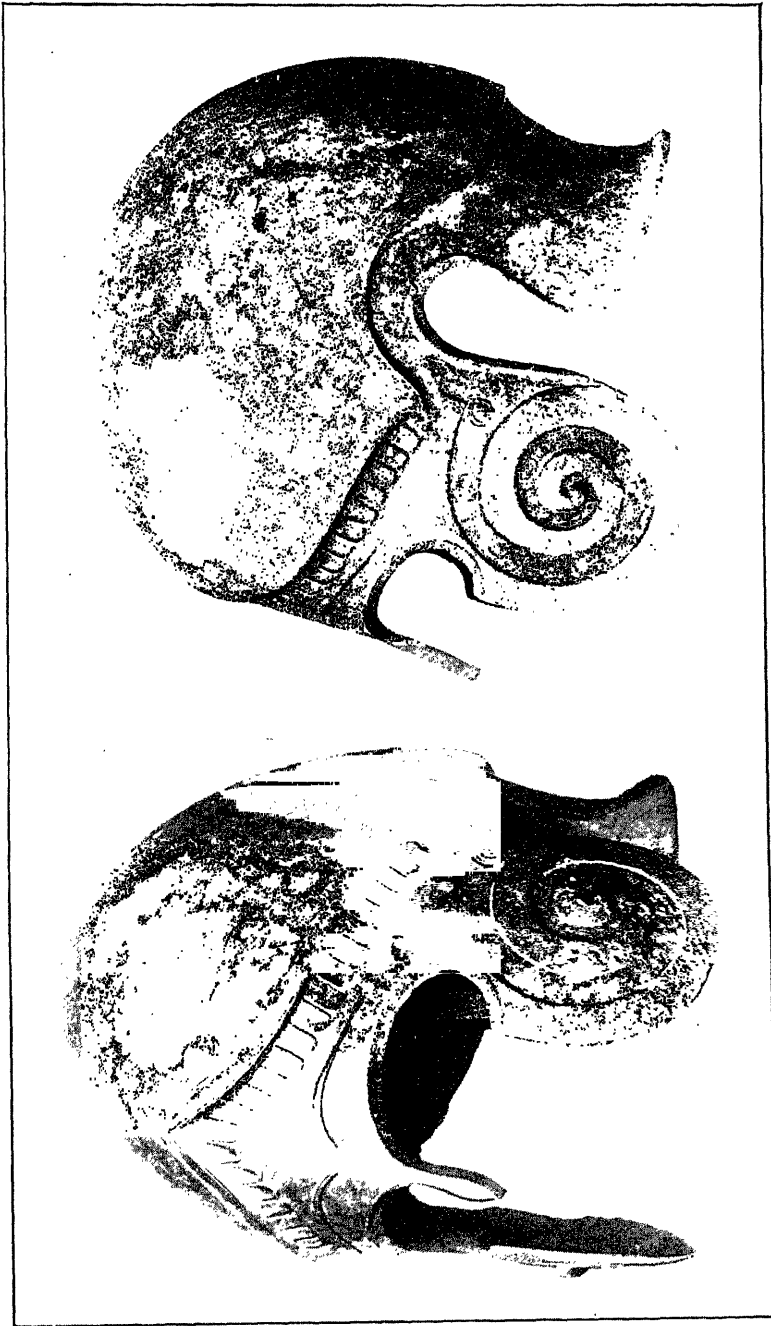
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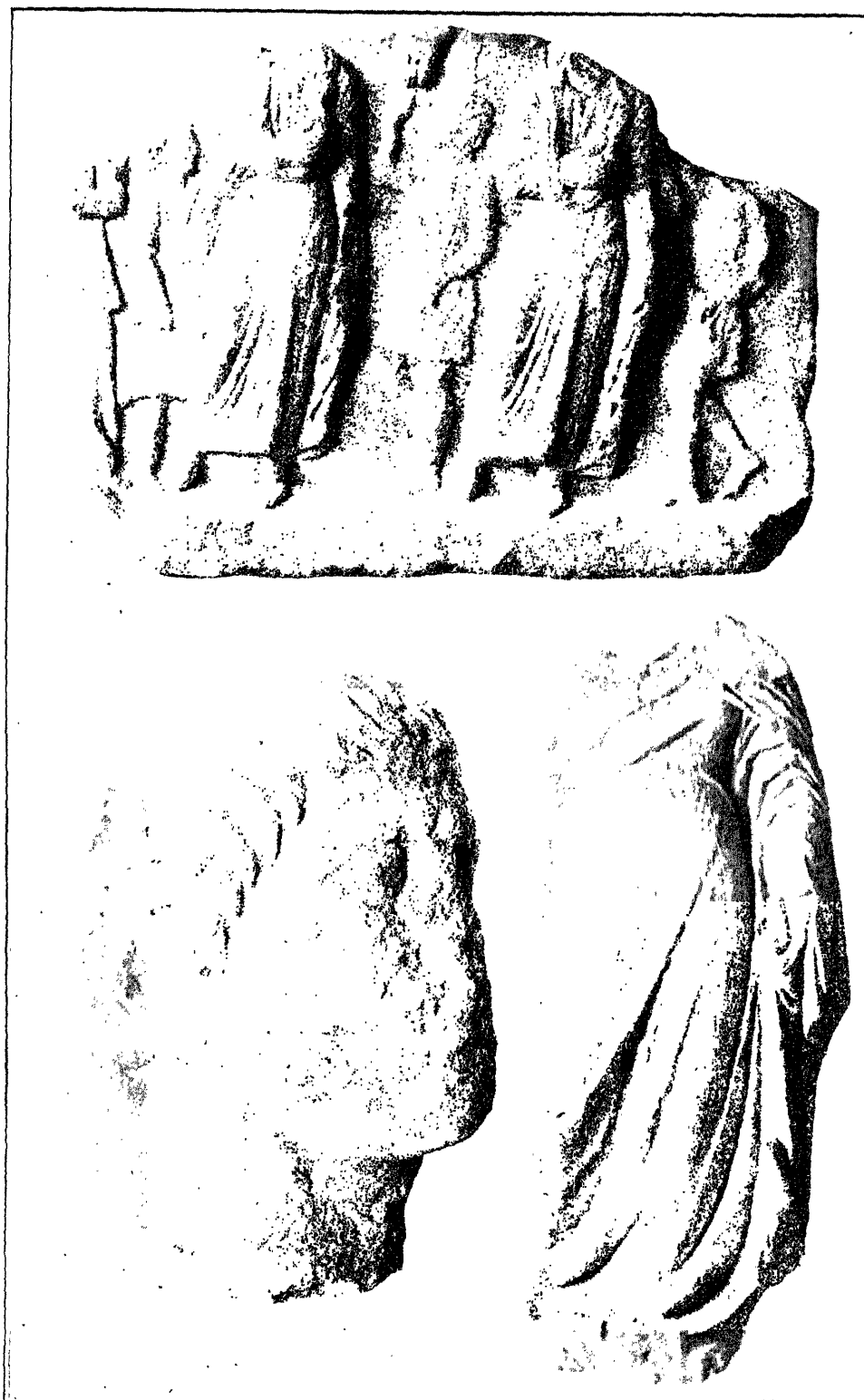
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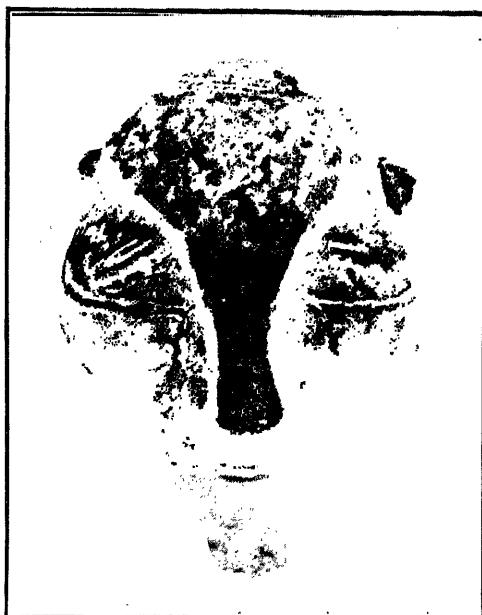
MACEDONIA: 1. BRONZE HELMET (1:2). 2. BRONZE VASE (1:2). 3. GLASS BOTTLE (1:1). 4. GLASS GOBLET (1:2).



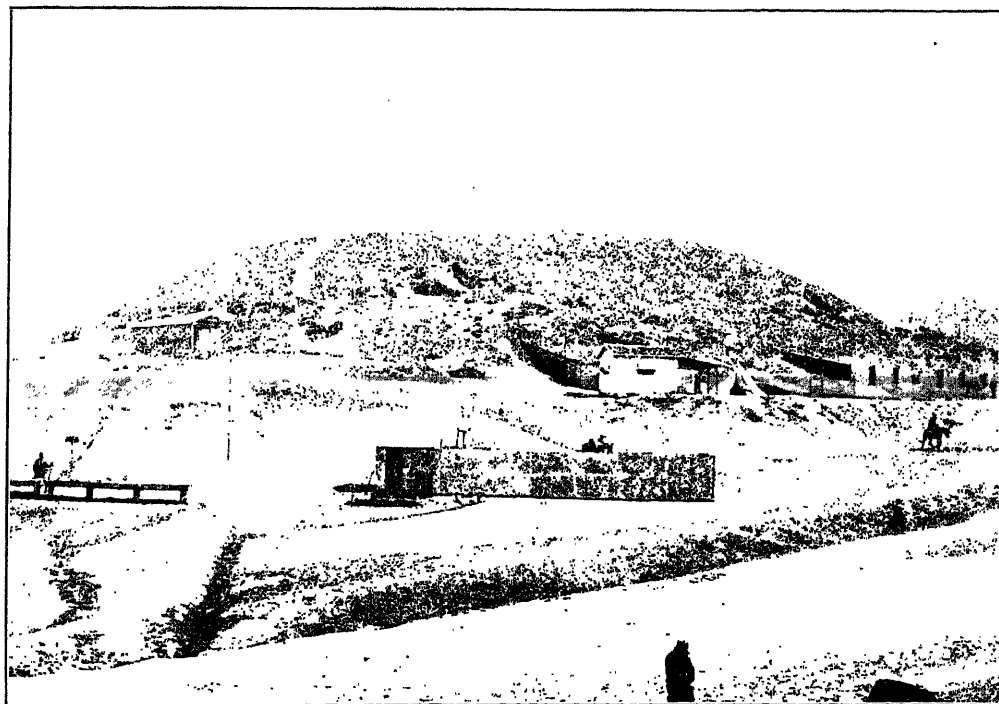
MACEDONIA: BRONZE HELMET (Pl. VIII. 1.) FROM GREEK CEMETERY (FOURTH CENTURY B.C.) ON MIKRO BAY. (Scale 1:2.)



MACEDONIA: 1. MARBLE BAS-RELIEF. 2. COLOSSAL MARBLE HEAD OF TRAJAN (?). 3. MARBLE
STATUE (ca. FOURTH CENTURY B.C.) FROM KARI GEUL.



1



2

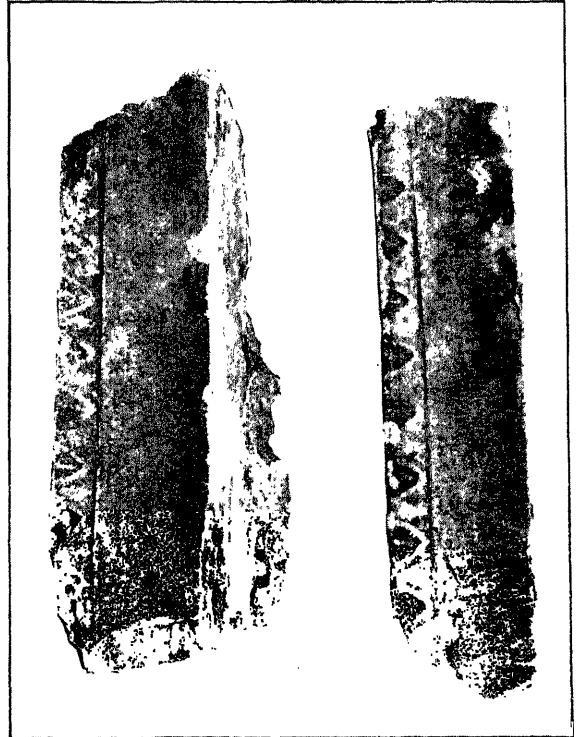
MACEDONIA: 1. PREHISTORIC TERRACOTTA HEAD FROM THE STRUMA VALLEY. 2. PREHISTORIC MOUND AT KALAMARIA.



I

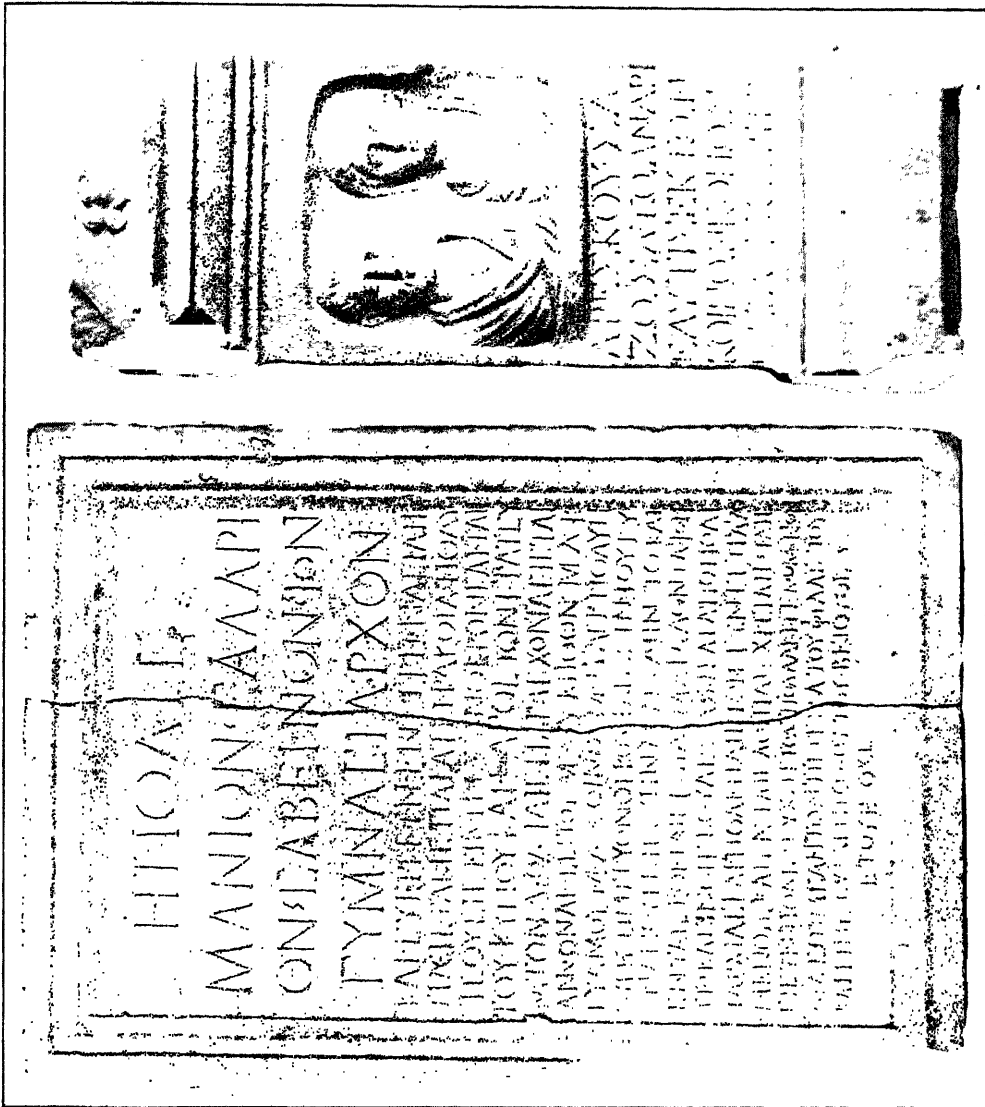


2



3

MACEDONIA: TOMB OF FOURTH-CENTURY TYPE. 1. GENERAL VIEW OF OUTER CHAMBER. 2. FLUTED DORIC COLUMN. 3. PAINTED STUCCO DECORATION OF SIMA.



2

1

MACEDONIA: INSCRIPTIONS FROM LAÏNA (LETE).

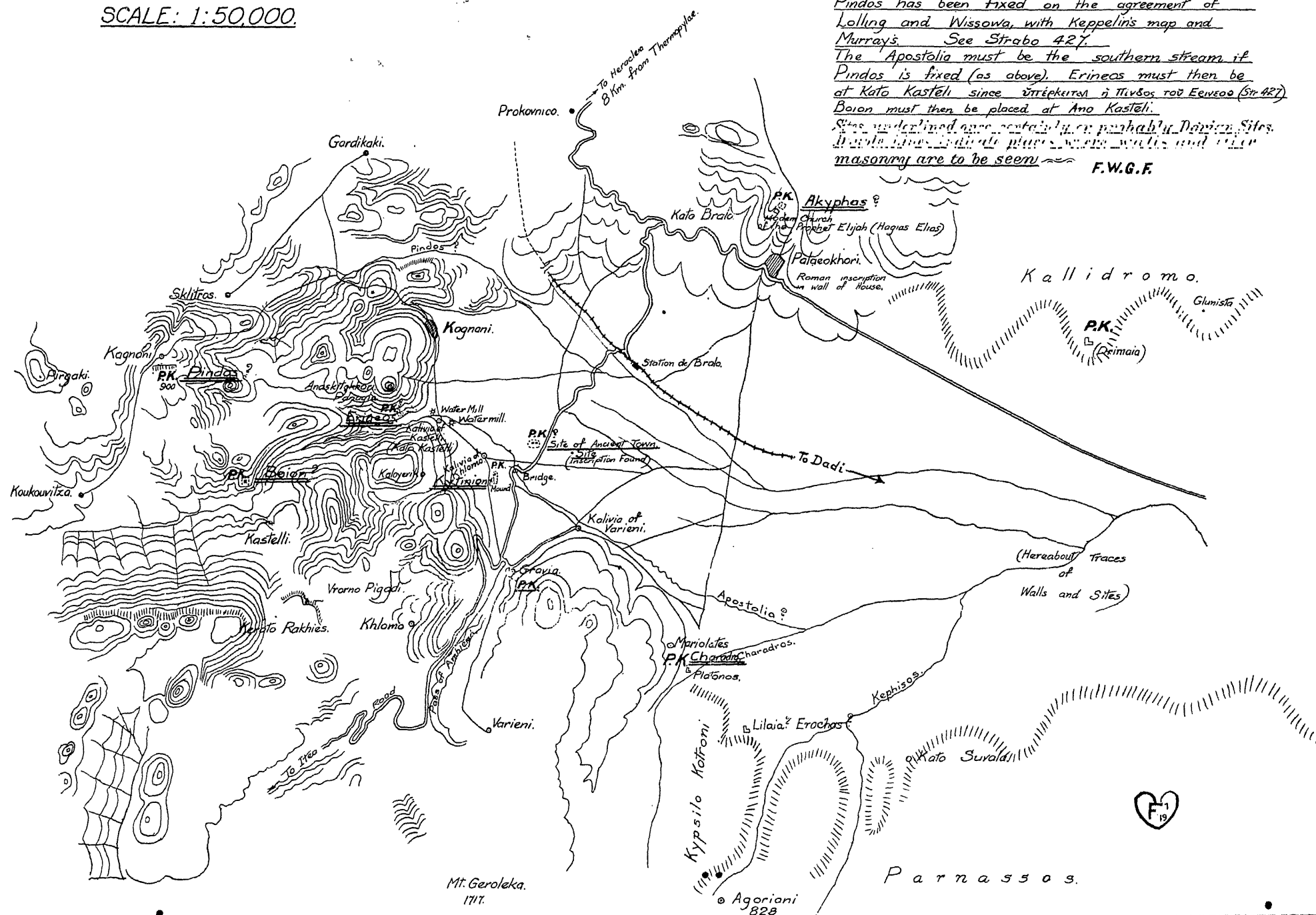
**PART OF DORIS — COMPILED FROM A
FRENCH MAP OF 1834, AND
SUBSEQUENT MAPS.**

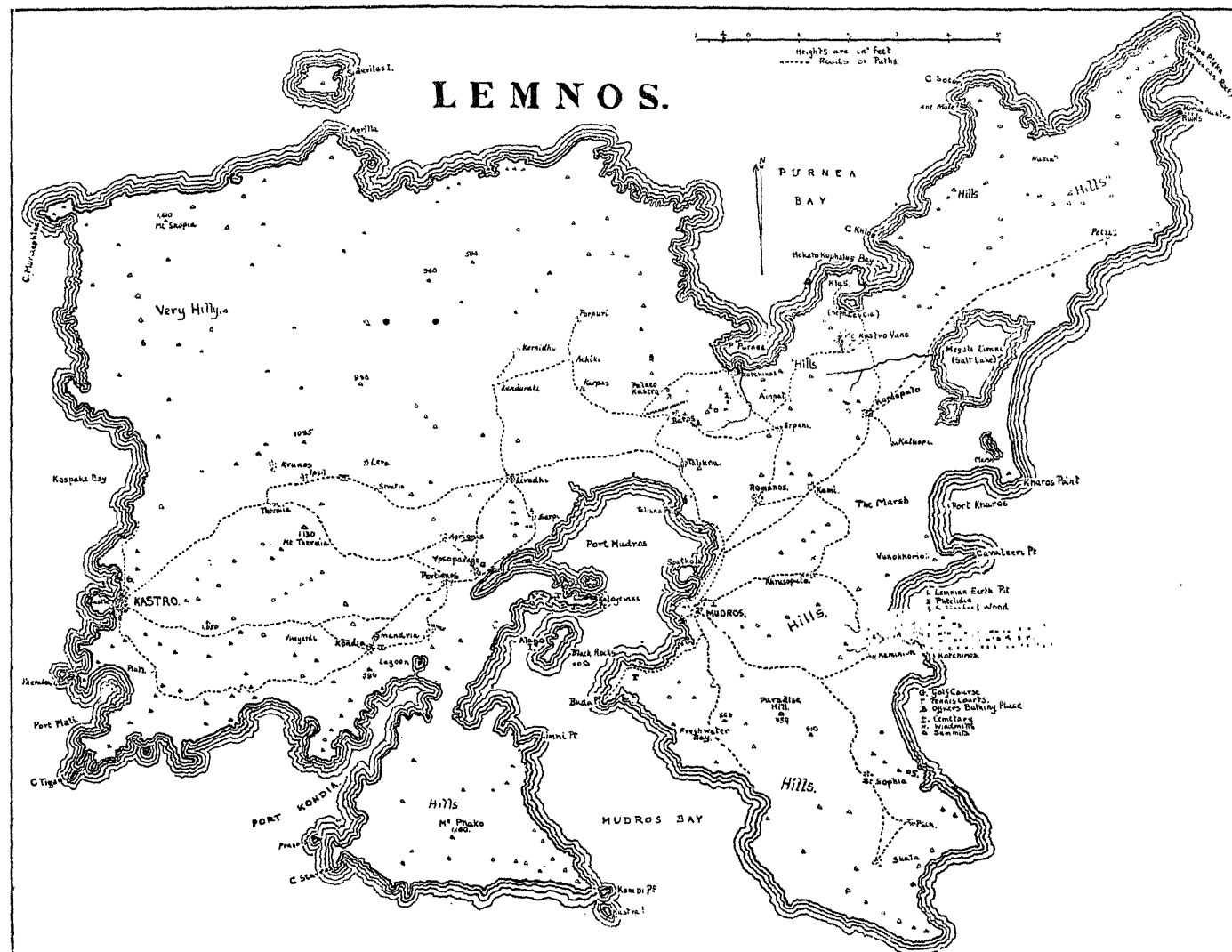
SCALE: 1:50,000.

NOTES:

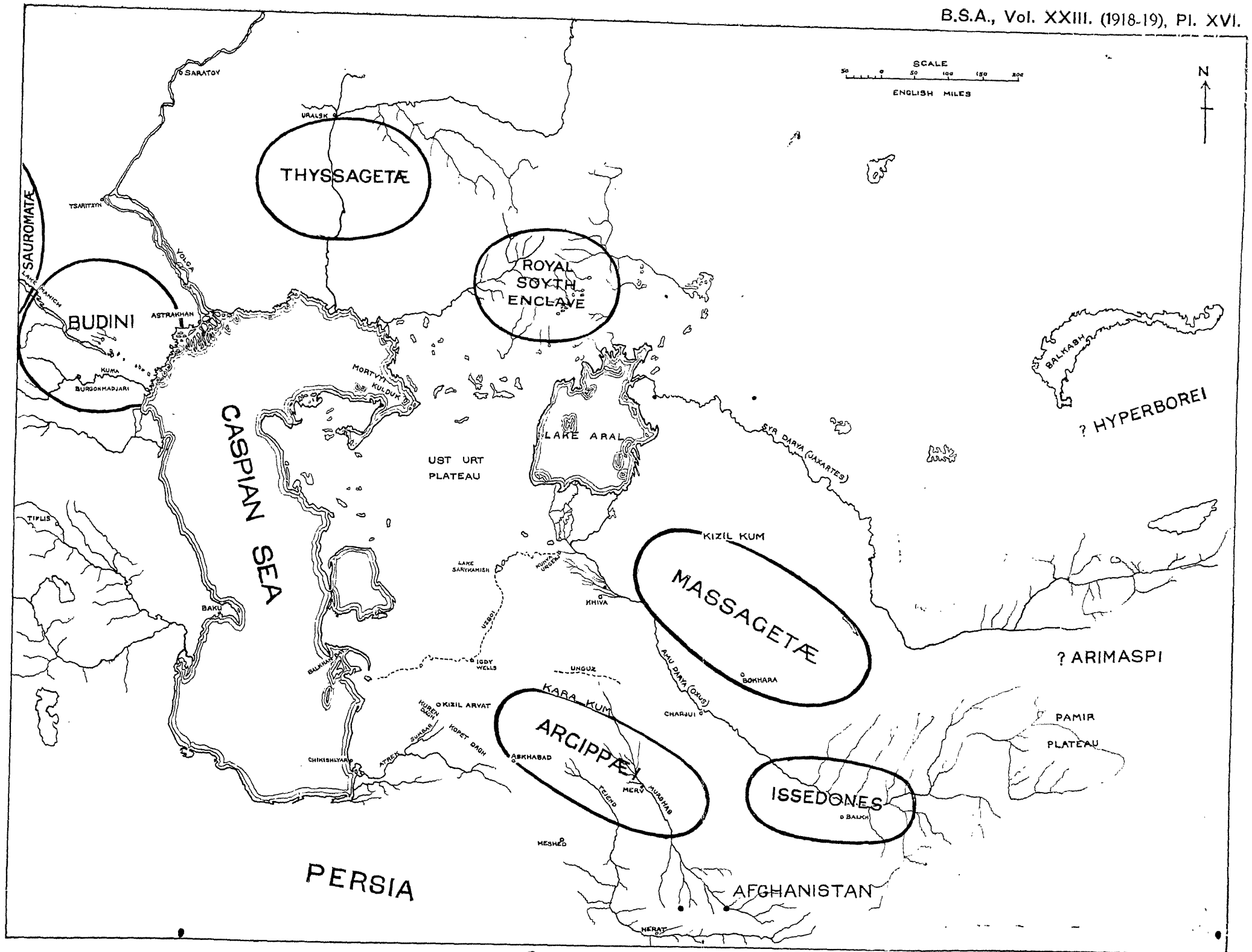
The "Site" marked "inscription found" midway between Brala and Gravia, has produced only one stone bearing the letters +ENOS.
Pindos has been fixed on the agreement of Lolling and Wissowa, with Keppelin's map and Murray's. See Strabo 427.
The Apostolia must be the southern stream if Pindos is fixed (as above). Erineas must then be at Kato Kasteli since ἡ ἐρέκτα ἡ τῆς τοῦ Εἰνεῶς (Str. 427).
Boion must then be placed at Ano Kasteli.
Stars underlined are certainly or probably Doric Sites.
Dotted lines indicate places where walls and other masonry are to be seen.

F.W.G.F.





LEMNOS: MAP OF THE ISLAND (AFTER THE ADMIRALTY MAP).



HERODOTUS AND THE CASPIAN: SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE TOPOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL PROBLEMS.



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